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A MANUAL

OF

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY,

IN WHICH THE

AFFINITY OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

IS ILLUSTRATED, AND APPLIED TO THE

PRIMEVAL HISTORY

OF

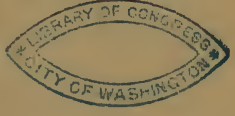
EUROPE, ITALY, AND ROME.

BY THE

REV. W. B. WINNING, M.A.

BEDFORD.

The genealogy and antiquities of nations can be learned only from the sure testimony of languages themselves.—Bopp.



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PREFACE.

THE following pages are offered as a Manual for the study of Philology. A sufficient number of facts has now been established to admit of analysis and arrangement, and to take the subject out of the hands of the mere collector and antiquarian; and I propose here to treat it as a young Science, in the full and literal meaning of the word. Of course, many works with this view have already appeared; but, for the greater part, they have been confined to a particular class of idioms, and been written in a foreign language. The present treatise comprises the whole Indo-European family, according to the latest German writers, Bopp and Pott; but its principal object is to illustrate the affinity of every idiom in Europe, and to approach towards a nearer acquaintance with the early history of our quarter of the world.

In a syllabus of the history of so many nations and languages, it was impossible to verify the accuracy of all my

authorities; it is, therefore, pardonable, if I have retailed one or two old errors: but, on all original points, I am in duty bound to consider myself amenable to the court of criticism; and would invite particular attention to my new view of the origin of the Tuscans, which I wish to be considered as the principal feature of the work. On this subject I have drawn my authorities from a very unusual source: my reasons for doing so will be best explained by giving one or two extracts from Niebuhr on the Origin and Early History of Rome.

Concerning the settlement of Æneas in Italy, Niebuhr says: "By this combination of evidence I think I have established the correctness of the view, that the Trojan legend was not brought into Latium by Greek literature, but must be considered as home-sprung; and when I have added, that in spite of this it has not the least historical truth, nor even the slightest historical importance, I should wish to quit the subject" (vol. i. p. 186). His second volume begins thus: "It was one of the main objects of the first volume to prove that the story of Rome, under the kings, was altogether without historical foundation." With respect to Servius Tullius, the Mastarna of the Tuscan annals, he says: "The Etruscan story, if it had come to us immediately and authentically from the old Etruscan annals, could not be gainsaid, but would be irreconcilable with all the rest of Roman history; nor would it lead to any results" (vol. i. p. 377). And, lastly, of the war with Porsenna he says, "not a single incident can pass for his-

torical" (vol. i. p. 542). In short, the whole of Tuscan history is involved in the greatest obscurity; which was caused, according to Niebuhr, by the careful destruction of all the Tuscan annals by the Romans themselves, to conceal the disgrace of the Tuscan conquest.

If such is the state of early Roman history after the labours even of a Niebuhr, we are surely justified in applying to any source, however extraordinary, in the hope of gleaning some historical truths. Now the Rabbis entertain very peculiar opinions on the origin of Rome; but these hitherto have either been entirely overlooked or treated with contempt. One author says that their statements set at defiance all authentic history and accurate chronology; whilst another tells us he is startled by assertions which nothing else confirms. But, granting for the present the justice of these decisions, are they at all worse than the sentence which Niebuhr has passed on the commonly received history, that we should be deterred from searching critically into the Rabbinical statements.

It is well known that the Old Testament contains several prophecies concerning Rome, in which the Rabbis of all ages have taken a deep interest, as they connect their own destiny with the fate of Rome. Thus R. Kimchi says: "When Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption to Israel." If we consider the greatness of the interests involved in the point, and the very early period at which their literature flourished, it is certainly no unreasonable supposition that they had the means, as well as the

inclination, to make themselves acquainted with the antiquities of Rome; though the sure foundation of truth, in their case as well as in others, has been sadly overlaid with a fanciful superstructure of modern legends. I have confronted the Rabbinical with the Classical statements, and leave the result to the judgment of the reader; if it does not produce immediate conviction, it will at least command serious attention. For my own part, I have been startled by coincidences which confirm the accuracy of the Rabbinical sources; but I shall not speak confidently, for Niebuhr has said on the subject of the Tuscans, "If any body pretends that he is able to decide with confidence in questions of such obscurity, let none listen to him" (vol. i. p. 380).

I give below a list of the works which I have constantly used on the general subject of this Manual; of course I have consulted a great many others, to which I have made the proper references in the particular divisions of my Treatise; but the writers here mentioned were my principal guides, and it is to these works of the respective authors, that reference is made when the writers are mentioned only by name.

I must also acknowledge my obligations to the periodical literature of the day, which contains many learned dissertations relating to my subject; and would mention with particular respect, the archæological and philological papers in the Quarterly Review.

List of Works.

Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen und Deutschen; von Franz Bopp. 1833—1837.

Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, insbesondere des Sanskrit, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Littauischen, und Gothischen; von Dr. Aug. Friedr. Pott. 1833—1836.

Uber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier; von Friedrich Schlegel. 1808.

R. Rask uber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache, nebst einer Ubersicht des gesammten Sprachstammes; ubersetzt von Fr. H. von der Hagen. 1826.

Vergleichungs-tafeln der Europaischen Stamm-Sprachen und Süd-West-Asiatischer, herausgegeben von Johann Severin Vater. 1822.

C. G. von Arndt uber den Ursprung und die verschiedenartige Verwandtschaft der Europaischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Ludwig Kluber. 1818.

Die Vorhalle Europaischer Volker-geschichten vor Herodotus, um den Kaukasus und an den Gestaden des Pontus; von Carl Ritter. 1820.

The History of Greece; by William Mitford. 1822.

Niebuhr's History of Rome; translated by Julius Charles Hare, and Connop Thirlwall. 1831.

Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani; di Giuseppe Micali. 1832.

Die Etrusker; von Karl Otfried Muller. 1828.

Die Sprache der alten Preussen, aufgestellt von Johann Severin Vater. 1821.

Essai Critique sur l'histoire de la Livonie; par le Comte de Bray. 1817.

The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, proved by a comparison of their Dialects with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages; by J. C. Prichard. 1831.

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CONTRACTIONS AND NOTATION USED IN THIS WORK.

Skr. Sanskrit.	O. Pr. Old Prussian.
Z. Zend.	Goth. Gothic.
P. Persian.	Scand. Scandinavian.
Gr. Greek.	A. Sax. Anglo-Saxon.
Lat. Latin.	O. H. G. Old High German.
Scl. Sclavonian.	L. G. Low German.
Lith. Lithuanian.	E. Erse.
Lett. Lettish.	W. Welsh.

The letters b', d', g', are the aspirates of b, d, g, &c.; and the accented c', g', are to be pronounced as in *chitchat, ginger*.

PART I.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION

OF THE

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

It is chiefly by comparison that we determine, as far as our sensible and intellectual faculties reach, the nature of things. Frederick Schlegel justly expects, that Comparative Philology will give us quite new explications of the genealogy of Languages, just as Comparative Anatomy has thrown light on Natural Philosophy.—*Bopp.*

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS: PROPOSED NOMENCLATURE: USE AND ABUSE OF PHILOLOGY: PALÆTIOLOGY.

EUROPE was the stage of human life, and its interests, many ages before the commencement of her written history; but the stirring events of that primeval period are shrouded in a deep gloom: we know, indeed, from an infallible source, that "God hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts xvii. 26); yet the particular genealogies and movements of the various European settlers were long as much unknown to us, as if they had belonged to a distinct race of a different world. Earnest have been the attempts, and various the means employed, to pass the gulf and penetrate the gloom, which virtually made us a distinct race from our ancient kin. The slightest relic of art, the most obscure trace of building, has been investigated with the greatest care: even the abodes of death have been consulted on their modes of life. But the most accurate and abundant information has arisen from an entirely different source: fleeting as language in itself may

be, it has raised for the primeval history of man more lasting monuments than those of stone or brass. The investigation of languages with this view has long been cultivated, and has at last begun to yield some definite and positive results. The end of the last century was the opening of a new era: new discoveries and new principles made a complete revolution in the study of languages, and vindicated to Philology the honours of a science.

"At that time," says Niebuhr, "Philology had recognised its calling to be the mediator between the remotest ages, to afford us the enjoyment of preserving, through thousands of years, an unbroken identity with the noblest and greatest nations of the ancient world, by familiarizing us, through the medium of grammar and history, with the works of their minds, and the course of their destinies, as if there were no gulf that divided us from them [1]."

But it is only lately that any language has been studied beyond its own immediate grammar; the comprehensive views and scientific principles that have recently been applied to the combined study of many languages,—the Sanskrit, Sclavonian, Gothic,—have advanced philology to a still more improved state; and have wrought, for the history of our race, as great wonders as Comparative Anatomy for the extinct forms of animal life; and it is now as much the business of the Philologist to recover the remoter history of man, through the fragments of dead languages, in the use of Comparative Philology, as it is of the Geologist to unveil the history of former worlds, from the fossil remains of extinct animals by means of Comparative Anatomy.

[1] Niebuhr's History of Rome, vol. i. p. ix.

Mr. Beke has well described "the extraordinary result which has at length been arrived at, after the thorough investigation to which the Indo-European languages have been subjected." He says, "Notwithstanding the labours of so many truly learned men, who, during a considerable period, had devoted their whole energies to the study and comparison of these languages, it is only within the last few years that the startling conclusion has been established, that they are—Celtic and Gothic, the total dissimilarity of which had been so warmly advocated,—Russian and Latin, between which it would have been considered almost madness to attempt to trace a resemblance,—Greek, Persian, and Sanskrit, the language of the *immortals*, and those of the *barbarians*, all deducible from one source, and, as it were, merely dialects of one parent language; whilst, to perfect the revolution of opinion that has thus taken place, the Greek and Latin languages, which, at one time, it would have amounted almost to a heresy to imagine not to be derived from the Hebrew, are now shown to be of a totally different stock, and to have scarcely any thing in common with that language, excepting some words which have been introduced by Hamitish colonists from Phœnicia and Egypt[2]."

When any idiom falls into disuse, and becomes a dead language, it is no longer subject to fluctuations in its words or grammar: in fact, it sinks into a petrified state, and securely preserves to us the mode of thought among the people, and their relation to other races, as fossil remains shew the forms and relations of animal life. But when a dead language, discovered in the other extremity of the

[2] Beke's Origines Biblicæ, vol. i. p. 103.

globe, shewed a close affinity with some European languages, and therefore pointed out a near relationship between these widely distant races; such conclusions at first were naturally received with distrust, and a more simple explanation of the phenomenon was sought and found. The striking resemblance of Sanskrit and Greek in some points easily suggested the idea that Sanskrit was a factitious compound of Greek, invented by the Brahmins for religious purposes, after the conquests of Alexander in the East. From a kindred feeling, the bones of elephants, when first found in England, were simply and naturally accounted for by their introduction with the Roman armies. But the simplicity of an explanation is not always the warrant of its truth; for, subsequently, elephants' bones were found accompanied with those of the rhinoceros,—and these animals were never known to be attendants on the arms of Rome. The theory of the Grecian origin of the Sanskrit tongue met with as easy a refutation[3]; for a farther investigation led to the discovery that Latin was still more nearly related to Sanskrit than Greek itself. Thus the original inference of the Eastern origin of some important European races remained undisturbed: the accumulation of evidence, since brought forward, leaves not a shadow of doubt in the case of the whole European family.

It is the object of the present work to bring forward the most striking features of this evidence in a succinct form: to arrange what was before known, in a more simple and scientific manner; and to offer for discussion some new views, which, it is hoped, will ultimately place the early

[3] "This theory," says Fr. Schlegel, p. 28, "is about as happy as that which would account for the Egyptian pyramids as natural crystallizations."

history of the European nations in a more clear and distinct light.

In this attempt to illustrate the genealogical antiquities of the West, I have endeavoured to establish a new division of the European languages, into two distinct but cognate classes. The existence of such a distinction shewed itself first in the case of the German idioms. Having collected numerous observations from various authors, concerning the relation of the different German dialects to other languages, I endeavoured to discover some common principle that would explain them all. The facts having been noted down, as they occurred to me in reading, of course presented a confused appearance, and seemed to have no bond of connexion; but a very simple principle, when once discovered, clearly revealed the mutual relation of them all. The key to the whole is this: when German Philologists make a formal comparison of their language with Latin, it is observable they always have recourse to Gothic and Low German, which, through the Sclavonian, lead us back to old Median; on the other hand, when High German is the subject of discussion, they as regularly compare it with Greek, or directly with Persian: on these grounds, I ventured to make a division of these idioms into Medo-German and Perso-German.

The same observations apply with equal force to the Greek language, which I have been led, from similar motives, to divide into Medo-Grecian and Perso-Grecian. To test the truth of my division of the German dialects, I proceeded to apply the principle to other languages; and as the Latin had always been considered as very heterogeneous in its composition, and as containing a very strong element of Greek, I chose it as favourable for a first attempt; but

found, to my surprise, that Latin was the least mixed of the two, and belonged entirely to the Median division; whilst Greek contained two clearly distinguishable elements, the Medo-Grecian and Perso-Grecian. The former, or Medo-Grecian, constitutes what is generally called the Grecian part of Latin; but it would be more correctly denominated the Latin part of Greek. It is hardly necessary to add, as a conclusion from these premises, that Latin is of greater antiquity than the language of Greece.

After the instances of Greek and German, the division of Celtic into two similar families was an easy consequence. These two families do not indeed present exactly the same differences as the others already mentioned; yet, because the analogy is strictly preserved by the close affinity of Welsh with Greek, and of Erse with Latin, I have been induced to name them the Medo-Celtic and Perso-Celtic.

This division of the European languages into two classes, the Median and Persian, leads me to suspect that the Sanskrit had no direct influence upon our Western idioms; but that the Sanskrit words in these last were brought here through the Median and Persian, which are kindred languages with Sanskrit; whilst the Sanskrit itself, in its direct relations, was entirely confined to the East.

I have explained, in the case of German, the reasons which led me to adopt the division into Median and Persian, which I have used for other languages also; but I do not wish to imply that the terms Median and Persian afford a satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena to be accounted for: when the subject comes to be more thoroughly understood, it is probable that a more suitable nomenclature will be suggested. In the mean time, I shall use it as the best within my reach; and leave to the reader

to estimate the value of the historical and philological arguments I shall produce in support of this twofold arrangement of languages, which he will at least find very conducive to a comprehensive and perspicuous view of his subject. An additional nomenclature of this nature was actually necessary for my purpose; but I am ready to sacrifice it for any better that can be substituted; as also the *theory* it implies, which is only incidental to it. For the rest, I profess to have been constantly on my guard against the inherent failing which is supposed to attach to the study of Philology. "It must be a matter of regret," says Mr. Prichard, "to those who are aware of the real value of this resource, that it has been applied with so little judgment, that many writers, who have devoted themselves to the study of what is termed *Philology*, have mixed up so much that is extravagant and chimerical with the results of their researches, as not only to throw a shade of doubt and uncertainty over them, but even to bring ridicule and contempt upon the pursuits in which they have been engaged. A fondness for wild conjecture and for building up systems upon the most inadequate and precarious foundations, has been supposed to belong to the whole class of writers on the history and affinities of languages, and it has certainly prevailed in no ordinary degree among them. Even some of the latest works on these subjects, though abounding with curious and valuable information, are in a particular manner liable to this censure. The treatise of Professor Murray on the European languages, though it displays extensive knowledge and diligent research, is scarcely mentioned without ridicule; and in the 'Asia Polyglotta' of M. Julius Klaproth, which has added very considerably to our acquaintance with the

dialects and genealogy of the Asiatic races, we find the results of accurate investigation mixed up and blended with too much that is uncertain and hypothetical. It must, however, be allowed, that there are not a few writers, in both earlier and later times, who are scarcely, if in any degree, chargeable with the same faults, and whose acuteness and soundness of discernment are equal to their extensive and profound erudition. This may be truly said of Vossius and Edward Lhuyd, among the Philologists of former ages; and in more recent times, of Professor Vater, the Schlegels, Bopp, and Professor Jacob Grimm. The comparison of languages is, perhaps, incapable of affording all the results which some persons have anticipated from it. It would be too much to expect from this quarter, to demonstrate the unity of race, or an original sameness of idiom in the whole human species. But this resource, if properly applied, will furnish great and indispensable assistance in many particular inquiries relating to the history and affinity of nations [4]."

"They who are properly qualified to appreciate the matter," says a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' "know that Philology is neither a useless nor a trivial pursuit; that, when treated in an enlightened and philosophical spirit, it is worthy of all the exertions of the subtlest as well as most comprehensive intellect. The knowledge of words is, in its full and true acceptation, the knowledge of things; and a scientific acquaintance with a language cannot fail to throw some light on the origin, history, and condition of those who speak or spoke it. Who knew any thing about the gipsies, till an examination of their language

[4] Prichard, p. 3.

proved, beyond all doubt, that they came from the banks of the Indus? Who knows any thing about the Pelasgi? And who does not perceive that two connected sentences of their language would tell us more clearly what they really were, than all that has hitherto been written about them[5]?" "The history of the Goths, who conquered the Roman empire, furnish another example. The real origin of this people could not have been known with certainty, if we had not come into possession of an ample specimen of their language, in the version of Ulphilas. By this we learn that they were not Getæ or Thracians, as most of the writers who lived near to the era of the Gothic invasion supposed them to be, and as some modern historians have maintained, but, in conformity with their own traditions, nearly allied in kindred to the northern tribes of the German family[6]."

We thus see that the investigation of the words of a language leads to important results concerning the history of the people that speak it; but attention even to the letters, by which the words of different idioms vary from one another, affords very useful information, which could not be derived from other sources, or confirms the conclusions we have otherwise obtained: e. g. the Median and Persian classes of languages are distinguished by the preference of certain letters, and by the more or less frequent use of various prefixes: ο-δοντες, dentes; ge-burt, birth, &c. But the most curious and unexpected result from investigating mere letters, which to many has appeared a trifling and useless pursuit[7], is the chronological scale which it

[5] Quarterly Review, vol. liv. p. 296. [6] Prichard, p. 5.

[7] The smart satire against Philologists, that theirs is a science, où la voyelle ne fait rien, et la consonne fort peu de chose, was perhaps true in

affords of the relative antiquity of the great families of Europe. Professor Grimm's law of the regular interchange of certain letters in Greek, Gothic, and old High German, affords an agreeable exercise to the mind from the neatness of the formula; but it proves farther, that Gothic is intermediate in age to the other two: and I shall afterwards shew from it, that the Sclavonian family was not the last of the great races which have entered Europe; and that it need not, therefore, according to the common opinion, be excluded from having furnished some of the earliest settlers in Italy and Greece.

I have called this work "A Manual of Comparative Philology, in which (1) the affinity of the Indo-European languages is illustrated; and (2) applied to the early history of Europe, Italy, and Rome." To denote the object pointed out in the first division of my title-page, the term Comparative Philology, which is now getting into common use, is a suitable and happy expression: it is not so, however, with respect to the second division. In entering upon the early history of Italy, it becomes quite necessary, besides the affinity of languages, to take into consideration monuments of art, customs, government, religion, and the general style of civilization. The name, therefore, of Comparative Philology, is not sufficiently comprehensive for the science treated of in this work; the subject, in its whole extent, belongs rather to the class of sciences which have lately been called Palætiological; and of which Geology is, at present, the best representative.

"By the class of sciences here referred to," says Mr. Whewell, who introduced the term Palætiological, "I

particular instances; but, abstractedly considered, it is as weak as the folly against which it was directed.

mean to point out those researches in which the object is, to ascend from the present state of things to a more ancient condition, from which the present is derived by intelligible causes. The sciences which treat of causes have sometimes been termed *ætiological*, from αιτια, *a cause:* but this term would not sufficiently describe the speculations of which we now speak; since it might include sciences which treat of permanent causality, like mechanics, as well as inquiries concerning progressive causation. The investigations which we now wish to group together, deal, not only with the possible, but with the actual past; and a portion of Geology has properly been termed *palæontology* (παλαι, ονται), since it treats of beings which formerly existed. Hence, combining these two notions (παλαι, αιτια), the term *palætiology* appears to be not inappropriate, to describe those speculations which thus refer to actual past events, but attempt to explain them by laws of causation. Such speculations are not confined to the world of inert matter: we have examples of them in inquiries concerning the monuments of the art and labour of distant ages; in examinations into the origin and early progress of states and cities, customs and languages; as well as in researches concerning the causes and formations of mountains and rocks, the imbedding of fossils in strata, and their elevation from the bottom of the ocean. All these speculations are connected by this bond, that they endeavour to ascend to a past state of things, by the aid of the evidence of the present.——Again, we may notice another common circumstance in the studies which we are grouping together as palætiological, diverse as they are in their subjects. In all of them we have the same kind of manifestations of a number of successive changes, each springing out of a preceding state; and in all, the pheno-

mena at each step become more and more complicated, by involving the results of all that has preceded, modified by supervening agencies. The general aspect of all these trains of change is similar, and offers the same features for description. The relics and ruins of the earlier states are preserved, mutilated and dead, in the products of later times. The analogical figures by which we are tempted to express this relation, are philosophically just. It is more than a mere fanciful description, to say, that in languages, customs, forms of society, political institutions, we see a number of formations superimposed upon one another, each of which is, for the most part, an assemblage of fragments and results of the preceding condition. Though our comparison might be bold, it would be just if we were to say, that the English language is a conglomerate of Latin words, bound together in a Saxon cement; the fragments of the Latin being partly portions introduced directly from the parent quarry, with all their sharp edges; and partly pebbles of the same material, obscured and shaped by long rolling in a Norman or some other channel. Thus the study of palætiology in the materials of the earth, is only a type of similar studies with respect to all the elements, which, in the history of the earth's inhabitants, have been constantly undergoing a series of connected changes[8]."

Perhaps Philology, and the connected archæological subjects, are not yet sufficiently advanced to constitute collectively, under an appropriate name, a complete and uniform member of the Palætiological class of sciences; and I have therefore retained the more common and intelligible phrase, Comparative Philology, though in a more

[8] Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences, vol. iii. p. 481.

extended sense than exactly belongs to it. From want of some general title, Fr. Schlegel has named his treatise, which is one of the earliest works in this department of Palætiology, ‘ An Essay on the Language and Philosophy of the Hindoos;’ which he has divided into three books, on Language, Religion, and Polity. My object in the present Work is to perform for Italy and the West, the same kind of task which he has executed for India and the East; and to induce others to enter upon the same path. May Palætiology, on the higher theme of Man, obtain as numerous and scientific inquirers as she already possesses on the subject of the earth !

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF PHILOLOGY: SANSKRIT, ZEND, PERSIAN: MEDO-EUROPEAN AND PERSO-EUROPEAN IDIOMS.

For an insight into the nature of language itself, and into the earliest migrations of one great family of the human race, no monument has been left us from antiquity more instructive than the remains of the Sanskrit tongue. It has been well said, that "India, formerly 'the home and birth-place' of all sorts of prodigies, contains nothing at the present day half so marvellous, or calculated to strike an enlightened inquirer with so much surprise and admiration, as the sacred idiom, to which the guardianship of all its treasures, of religion, science, and literature, has been in great measure confided[1]." The word *Sanskrit* refers, not to the locality, but to the character of the language, and would be best translated into English by the term *classical*. It is derived from the Sanskrit *sam*, 'cum,' and *krita*, 'facta' (*kritas*, *krita*, *kritam*, from the verbal root *kri* or *kar*, 'to make'), and signifies *confecta*, *perfecta*.

[1] Edinburgh Review, vol. li. p. 546.

Besides its own intrinsic worth, Sanskrit has enabled us rightly to estimate and advantageously to use the materials we already possessed. The Gothic tongue is the most important among the numerous class of German idioms, and holds the same high place among its kindred dialects, as Sanskrit among the Indo-European. The Gothic gospels of Ulphilas have been well known for more than a century; and it was solely in consequence of the low state of criticism during that period, that they failed to reveal the degree of affinity that exists between all the German and the two classic languages. The other great division of idioms, the Sclavonian, has only lately been cultivated for philological purposes: their close affinity with Latin decidedly proves the kindred origin of the Sclavonian and Italian tribes, and decides the question that Latin is not a dialect of Greek, but even ranks higher than its rival in the scale of European antiquity.

Every relic of every dialect is now sought out with the greatest care, and the collected materials are arranged and investigated with scientific precision. This favourable result is entirely due to the discovery of Sanskrit: its palpable resemblance to Latin and Greek, together with its great remoteness from all European interests, afforded striking matter for wonder; and the impulse was kept up and regulated by the opportuneness of the discovery, at a time when philology was rising to its place among the sciences.

Philologists, however, will readily acknowledge the merits of the Danish scholar and traveller, Rask. In his prize essay on the Thracian class of languages, written in the year 1814, he had begun successfully, even without the aid of Sanskrit, to investigate on rational grounds the

affinity of Scandinavian and Gothic on one hand, and of Sclavonian and Lithuanian on the other, with the two classic languages. "His omission of the Sanskrit, which was little known at that time, cannot," says Bopp, "be made a ground of reproach; but his dispensing with it is so much the more to be regretted, as we plainly see that he was in a condition to have made a spirited use of it; as it is, he arrives only half-way at the real truth. We owe to that early work the first intimation of a regular interchange of letters in different languages, which Grimm afterwards so admirably developed in his simple law. His later work, which was written in the year 1826, in illustration of Zend, and which affords us the earliest scientific information on that language, must be held in high honour as a first attempt; it shews clearly that Zend is not a mere dialect of Sanskrit, but is related to it as Latin is to Greek, or Scandinavian to Gothic"[2].

Writers acquainted with the eastern dialects inform us, that the languages in the north of India, the Hindostanee, Bengalee, &c., consist almost entirely of Sanskrit, either in a pure or corrupt state, but shorn of all its profusion of grammatical inflexions, and reduced, like most modern idioms, to the necessity of supplying their place with auxiliary verbs and separate particles. The languages more to the south, the Teluga, Tamul, Canarese, &c., are of a different origin from Sanskrit: according to Rask, they belong rather to the Tatar and Finnish dialects of middle and northern Asia. He supposes that a great Scythian race once extended continuously from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean; that this line of settlements was broken through by Sanskrit tribes from Iran, who pos-

[2] Vergleichende Grammatik, Vorrede.

sessed themselves of Hindostan and the Deccan, and drove the former inhabitants towards the southern point of the peninsula[3]. It was also the opinion of Sir W. Jones, that Sanskrit was native to Iran, and was introduced by conquerors upon the original language of Hindostan. The influence of Sanskrit, however, was not limited to India; it extended still farther eastward to the borders of China, and spread over the islands in the south. "One original language seems, in a very remote period, to have pervaded the whole Archipelago, and to have spread towards Madagascar on the one side, and to the islands in the South Sea on the other; but in the proportion that we find any of these tribes more highly advanced in the arts of civilized life than the others, in nearly the same proportion do we find the language enriched by a corresponding accession of Sanskrit terms, directing us at once to the source whence civilization flowed towards these regions[4]."

From these eastern parts I turn to consider the relations of Sanskrit to the families of the West. It is now well known that numerous Sanskrit words are found in all languages, from India to England and Iceland. This interesting discovery is primarily due to the investigations of Mr. Halhed, who, about the year 1778, "first opened the inestimable mine of Sanskrit literature," by a comparison with Latin and Greek. Sir W. Jones soon after confirmed and added to Mr. Halhed's observations. He says,—"The Sanskrit language is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of

[3] Uber die Zend sprache, p. 6.

[4] Raffles' History of Java, vol. i. p. 368.

grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit: the old Persian may be added to the same family[5]." In the year 1809, a comparative vocabulary of Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, and German, appeared in the thirteenth volume of the Edinburgh Review[6], which clearly proved a common relationship between these European and Eastern nations. The subject, however, found most favour, and was pursued with greatest zeal, among German writers: the striking similarity between Gothic and Sanskrit, and between High German and Persian, presented quite a national object to their laborious scholarship and adventurous criticism; and they entered on this new course with patriotic zeal, as if for the recovery of a lost patrimony. Hence their generic name for this class of cognate languages is Indo-German; but they are now gradually adopting the more comprehensive and more suitable name of Indo-European. "That term," says Mr. Prichard, who has so ably vindicated the claim of the Celtic dialects for admission into the number, "was designed to include a class of nations, whose dialects are more or less nearly related to the ancient language of India. This discovery was originally made by comparing the Sanskrit with the Greek and Latin. A very consi-

[5] Sir W. Jones' Dissertation on the Hindoos.

[6] Art. "Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar."

derable number of words were found to be common to these languages, and a still more striking affinity was proved to exist between the grammatical forms respectively belonging to them. It is difficult to determine which idiom, the Latin or the Greek, approaches most nearly to the Sanskrit, but they are all evidently branches of one stem. It was easily proved, that the Teutonic as well as the Sclavonian dialects, and the Lettish or Lithuanian, which are in some respects intermediate between the former, stand nearly in the same relation to the ancient language of India. Several intermediate languages, as the Zend and other Persian dialects, the Armenian and the Ossete, which is one of the various idioms spoken by the nations of Caucasus, have been supposed by writers, who have examined their structure and etymology, to belong to the same stock. Thus a near relation was proved to subsist between a considerable number of dialects spoken by nations who are spread over a great part of Europe and Asia. It may be remarked, that the more accurate the examination of these languages has been, the more extensive and deeply rooted their affinity has been discovered to be. Those who are acquainted with Professor Jacob Grimm's able and lucid Analysis of the Teutonic Idioms, will fully admit the truth of this remark. The historical inference hence deduced is, that the European nations, who speak dialects referrible to this class of languages, are of the same race with the Indians and other Asiatics, to whom the same observation may be applied; and this conclusion seems to have been admitted by writers who in general have displayed little indulgence towards the visionary speculations of philologists[7]."

[7] Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, p. 17.

I have already alluded to the opinion that Sanskrit was not native to India, but proceeded thither from Iran; it should, therefore, be classed with the other Iranian languages, the old Median and Persian. Iran, as defined by Sir W. Jones and Malte Brun, was bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by the Euphrates, on the north by the Caspian Sea, and on the south by the Indian Ocean. In this great tract of country, as far back as we can trace in history, were spoken three distinct but cognate languages; viz., Sanskrit in the north-east, Median in the north-west, and Persian in the south. Of these Iranian dialects, the Sanskrit had no direct communication with Europe; but proceeded, as we have seen, eastward into India, where it gave birth to the existing Sanskrit dialects, Hindostanee, Bengalee, &c. which I shall call collectively the Irano-Indian, in contradistinction to the Scytho-Indian dialects of the former inhabitants. On the other hand, the old Median or Zend, and old Persian or Parsi, extended westward, and are the elder sisters of all our European idioms.

Zend. Although some Zend writings had been made known in Europe by Hyde, Bourchier, and Fraser, early in the eighteenth century, they served only as mysterious objects of literary curiosity; it was reserved for the zeal of Anquetil du Perron to dissipate the gloom, and draw forth the information they were calculated to afford. So intent was he on the execution of his design, that at the age of twenty-three he entered as a private soldier in an expedition which was then fitting out for India (1754). At Surat, by means of two Desturs or Magi, he was enabled to make himself acquainted with Zend and Pehlvi, and thus effected the great object of his ambition, a trans-

lation of the sacred books of the Parsees. His work immediately gave rise to a warm controversy: it was questioned whether Zend could lay any claim to the character of a real language, and should not rather be considered as a factitious compound for the use of the priests. The dispute is now set at rest by the known affinity of Zend with Russian and Lithuanian, and must be looked on in the same light as would a learned controversy among the Parsees on the Vulgate of the Latin Church: from an ignorance of the modern Roman dialects, Italian, French, Spanish, these might as naturally contend that the sacred books of the Nazarenes were written in an artificial idiom, which had been the language of no people upon earth, and was known only to their Desturs or priestly caste.

More recently, the celebrated linguist Rask made an inland journey over Caucasus, through Persia, to India, for the same purposes, and with the same success, as Anquetil. Rask's wonderful knowledge of languages enabled him to bring to the investigation of these Zend writings an extraordinary share of critical and philological skill, in which his predecessor was unfortunately deficient: the industrious application of these advantages completely convinced him of the genuineness of these ancient documents, and of the reality of their language, and brought him to acquiesce in the original positions of Anquetil:

(1.) That Zend was the old language of Media;

(2.) That certain books composed in it were the genuine works of Zoroaster.

On any mention of the Zend language, the Comparative Grammar of Franz Bopp cannot be overlooked, of which Zend forms the most material and characteristic portion. Of this work and its author, Pott observes: "The master

in philology, who first brought the Germans to a more accurate acquaintance with Sanskrit, has here thrown open to the world the secret gates to the Zend tongue; a knowledge of which, as we can with certainty foresee, will shed over the dark history and ethnography of Western Asia such a light as will unsparingly put to the rout a variety of theories and erroneous views[8]." It was a knowledge of Sanskrit that first afforded an insight into the general affinity which exists between the Indians and Europeans: an acquaintance with Zend will enable us to classify the minuter shades of particular affinities, and to give a more exact view of the early history of some important members of the Indo-European family.

Persian. As Persian, the proper language of Parsistan and Carmania, belongs to the same family as Zend and Sanskrit, and contains many words in common with them, it follows as a natural consequence, that some Persian words are found in all the idioms of Europe; but in its peculiar character, as distinguished from Zend and Sanskrit, the Persian is more nearly related to Greek and German, than to any other European language. The affinity of German with Persian seems to have been first pointed out by Fr. Raphelengius, in the sixteenth century; not long after, Salmasius added the Greek; and in chapters II. — IV. of his treatise de Linguâ Hellenisticâ, he has made some able remarks on the affinity of the Greek, German, and Persian languages[9]. Dorn, in his recent essay (1827) to prove the affinity of the Persian, German, and Greco-Latin languages, says: "It is not to be expected that Persian

[8] Etymologische Forschungen, vol. i. p. x.

[9] Dorn uber die Verwandtschaft des Persischen, Germanischen und Griechisch-Lateinischen Sprachstammes, pp. 93-96.

should correspond only with the present cultivated German, since this is itself at present very different from what it was formerly even in Germany; we must, therefore, take into consideration the Danish, English, Gothic, &c." (p. 28.) It seems, however, to be forgotten, that both Low and High German have proceeded equally through the different degrees of cultivation, without losing their distinctive characters: the Low German, in its rude as well as in its more refined state, has a close relation to Latin and Zend; and the High German, throughout the same stages, has preserved its affinity to Greek and Persian. When Dorn, therefore, with others, makes use of Zend and Pehlvi under the Persian, of Gothic and Danish under the German, of Æolic and Latin under the Greek tongue, he does little more than illustrate an acknowledged principle, the general affinity of the Indo-European languages; and this seems to have been a principal object of his work: but I think there is reason for suspecting a closer and more particular connexion of Persian with classical or Perso-Greek and High German. The Goths can be traced back to the Palus Mæotis and the Tanais, where Zend has left strong marks of itself in the Russian language of the present day; and it is remarkable enough, that a considerable tribe of Persians in the time of Herodotus (i. 125) were called Germanii, whilst the modern language of Persia shews a close affinity to the present High German in the heart of Europe.

The German philologist, Pott, in controverting the old opinion that the High Germans are lineally descended from the Persians, observes, that "the similarity of sound in Germania and Carmania will prove nothing, until the names of the two countries are shown to be etymologically

related; and he adds, that in case the Sarmatians were the forefathers of the Sclavonians, these last have a much stronger claim than the Germans to a close affinity with the *Persians:* Sarmatæ, *Medorum* ut ferunt soboles, Plin. H. N. vi. 7.; and this idea is farther confirmed by the regular substitution of *s* for *h* in Sclavonian, as in Zend and Persian, &c." vol. ii. p. 519. No one, I believe, attempts to deny that there is an affinity between Zend and Sclavonian; but I wish to keep more clearly in view the original distinction between Zend and Persian ; and to maintain, upon more reasonable grounds, the old opinion of a nearer affinity between High German and Persian. On the first point, it is enough to state a single fact with respect to the two alphabets; it is remarkable, says Bopp, p. 43, that the letter *l* is wanting in Zend, as *r* is in the Chinese, whilst *l* is forthcoming in new Persian words, which are not of Semitic origin. On the other point, of a near affinity between High German and Persian, although it is confessed that the older philologists have often rested their proofs on the untenable ground of apparent coincidences, yet there is good authority for asserting, that some of their arguments have been substantiated on scientific grounds, and therefore are not open to the ridicule which Pott has deservedly heaped upon the older mode of proceeding. New Persian words, says Bopp, p. 278, have often been compared with new German, and in many cases correctly so; but that, in the High German "worter" words, the final syllable *er* is etymologically related to the neuter plural termination *ha* in Persian, could not have been imagined without the assistance of Sanskrit and Zend.

In the same passage, p. 278, Bopp remarks, that, "in

new Persian, the plural ending *an*, which is confined to living objects, is identical with the Sanskrit termination *an* of the accusative plural in masculine nouns; just as in Spanish the whole plural number has the termination of the Latin accusative." The want of inflexions in modern Persian is owing, I conceive, not to any original character of the language itself, but to the circumstance that it has continued in a living state, and subject to the fluctuations inevitably induced in a course of ages: the Sanskrit and Zend, on the contrary, fell into disuse at a more perfect stage of their existence, and have therefore preserved nearly all the fulness of their original forms. In modern Persian, as in most modern languages, the conjugation of verbs is effected by auxiliaries, *buden*, *schoden*, to be, and *chasten*, about to be: what might have been its state during its most flourishing condition, or during the ruder ages of its existence, at which stage the grammatical forms of a language are always most strongly marked, we have no means of knowing; but, from the analogy of other languages, we are compelled to suppose that at one time it must have been much more amply furnished than at present. In modern Greek, the verbs εχω, θελω, εμπορω, as auxiliaries, have superseded almost all the ancient inflexions; and the eye is shocked with such forms as εχω γραψει *I have written*, ηθελα γραψει *I would write*: now if we possessed no Greek writings of an older date than the Romaic, who could possibly have divined the varied fulness and exquisite structure found in the works of classical authors. The oldest Persian writings reach back no farther than the ninth century, whilst the latest in Sanskrit and Zend extend at least several centuries before the Christian era: the Persian, therefore, of the ninth century,

and that of the Zend period, may have varied after the same manner, and to the same extent, as modern English differs from Anglo-Saxon.

The Zend and Parsi are of kindred origin with Sanskrit, and are known to contain many words in common with it; the first, however, is much more nearly related to Sanskrit than the other. These two languages, the Zend and Parsi, which issued from the west of Iran, and spread over Europe in a modified form, I shall call Irano-European, in opposition to Irano-Indian; and make a farther subdivision of their various European dialects into Medo-European and Perso-European. From this classification of the European languages, we arrive at once, without any farther investigation, at two very remarkable and important results:—

(1.) As the Median empire arose much earlier than the Persian, it is probable that Media was in a condition to throw off swarms for the occupation of Europe at an earlier date than Persia; and, consequently, that the Medo-European languages would be more ancient and more numerous than the Perso-European. To take a particular example: Arndt has remarked, from the situation of the Low German dialects towards the North-West of Europe, that they must be of greater antiquity than the central High German: and this is the conclusion to which I have been led by the division of these idioms into Medo-German and Perso-German.

(2.) As the relation of Zend to Sanskrit is very intimate, and that of Parsi much more distant, it is a natural result that the Medo-European languages should contain Sanskrit roots and forms in much greater number than the Perso-European idioms. By means of this principle, I have

been able to reduce to order, and combine under one law, the several insulated facts incidentally mentioned by philologists. I shall here add a few of them, which I have collected from various authors; but as they would present only a mass of confusion without some clue to guide us, I must premise that the Medo-European languages consist of the Sclavonian, Lithuanian, Latin, Gothic, Low German, and Erse; and that High German, Greek, and Welsh form the Perso-European class.

Frederick Schlegel states, that Low German is highly deserving of the attention of philologists, as it retains more of Sanskrit forms than High German[10]: to the same purpose is the observation of Bopp, p. 35, that the oldest forms of German (the Gothic) are more similar to Sanskrit than to Persian.

"Let me observe," says Mr. Halhed in his Bengal Grammar, "that as the Latin is an earlier dialect than the Greek as we now have it, so it bears much more resemblance to the Sanskrit both in words, inflexions, and terminations." Sir W. Jones too, speaking of a work which he rendered into English, informs us that he began with translating it verbally into Latin, "which," he adds, "bears so great a resemblance to the Sanskrit, that it is more convenient than any other language for a scrupulous interlineary version."

"It is a curious phenomenon," says Arndt, on the European languages, p. 88, "that the High German, which has ever been cultivated after Roman models, should approach in its structure much nearer to the Greek; whilst the Russian, which in earlier times was formed upon the

[10] Uber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, p. 8.

Greek, bears a striking similarity to Latin: the explanation of this phenomenon must be sought in remote antiquity." In another place, p. 106, he says, that "the Latin and Sclavonian words which occur in German, belong in much greater proportion to the Low German than to the High German dialects."

"To show the German origin of the Latin language, we must not confine ourselves," says Jakel, "to the present High German, but must include the sister dialects of Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Holland and England; but more especially the mother tongues, the Gothic, Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon: these differ in many respects from our modern High German, but at the same time they approach infinitely nearer to the Latin: indeed, it may be laid down as a general position, that the Low German has a much closer affinity to Latin than the High German [11]."

By referring to the table of languages given above, even the reader to whom this subject is new, may perceive an unity of principle in these various remarks, and see the foundation on which they all rest. The facts themselves not only receive light from the division of the European idioms into two classes, but also afford evidence to the reality of such a distinction.

Herodotus plainly intimates that the various tribes from the head of the Adriatic, and north of the Danube, were of Median origin. He says, that nothing certain is known concerning the people in the north of Thrace. The country beyond the Danube is a wild and undefined space; its only inhabitants, as far as I have been able to learn, are the Sigynnæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their

[11] Der Germanische Ursprung der Lateinischen Sprache und des Romischen Volkes, p. 16.

horses are small, but when yoked to a car, they are remarkable for their speed, for which reason cars are very common among them. The boundaries of this people extend almost to the Heneti on the Adriatic. They call themselves a colony of the Medes: how Medes reached this country, I am not able to say; though, in a long course of time, it is quite possible. (v. 9.)

It appears from Strabo, lib. xi., that the very oldest authors, long before the age of Herodotus, drew the same line of demarcation as this historian; for it was their practice to comprehend all tribes to the north of the Adriatic, Danube, and Euxine, under the general name of Hyperboreans, Sauromatæ, and Arimaspi [12]. Now the Sauromatæ are generally allowed to have been an ancient branch of the Sclavonian family; and Diodorus Siculus (ii. 89.) expressly assigns them a Median origin: the title of Hyperboreans seems to have been a more general one, but I shall afterwards show that there are very particular reasons for comprehending under it the Lithuanians and Old Prussians, whose dialects are closely allied to the Sclavonian and Zend. As to the Arimaspi, they were only a particular tribe of the Hyperboreans: Αριμασποι, εθνος Υπερβορεων, Steph. Byzant.

If, therefore, a line be drawn from the head of the Adriatic across to the Danube, and along the course of that river to the Black Sea, we perceive that all the tribes beyond that line were considered by the ancients as genuine descendants of the Medes: the tribes that fall within that line were exposed to an admixture with Persian races, in times perhaps beyond the reach of history,

[12] See Ritter's Vorhalle, p. 464.

but we discover marks of the event in the languages which arose from it.

This account may suffice to render intelligible, and to establish in a general way, my arrangement of the European idioms under two great classes of distinct but kindred origin: additional arguments, in support of this division, will be brought forward during the progress of the work.

For facility of reference, I shall repeat here the list of the two sets of languages:—

Medo-European:—Sclavonian, Lithuanian, Latin, Low German, and Erse.

Perso-European:—Greek, High German, and Welsh.

CHAPTER III.

TABLE OF LANGUAGES: PREFIXES: GRIMM'S LAW: RELATIVE ANTIQUITY OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

In this chapter I propose to present the reader with an outline of the countries over which he will have to travel, and which occupy the extensive space lying between the western extremities of Europe and the river Indus. Some marks also will be pointed out, which will enable him, at any point of his wide course, to know something of the people among whom he may have arrived. To the Geologist, the materials of the road on which he is passing, or the outline of the hills which may rise in the distance, will often afford a general idea of the nature of the district in which he then is, and show the relative antiquity of its formations compared with those of the countries which he has left behind; as the appearance of a cross or a crescent on the public edifices would make known the religion of the people. In like manner, some means of forming a judgment concerning the people with whom he is at the moment conversant, are supplied to the Philologist in the particular

form of the words which are used by the inhabitants. Thus the Russian people of the Sclavonian family belong to the Medo-European division, as may be decided from the very appearance of some of their words; e. g. browi, eyebrow: to express this idea the Greeks have substituted ϕ for b, and added the prefix o; the Greek *o-φρυς*, therefore, belongs to the Perso-European division, and is a more recent formation than the Russian browi.

Table of Languages.—The languages of which we are about to treat, will be more perspicuously viewed under the following tabular arrangement:—

IRANIAN.
Sanskrit, Zend, Persian.

IRANO-INDIAN.
Sanskrit, Hindostanee, Bengalee.

IRANO-EUROPEAN.
Zend, Persian, Sclavonian, Lithuanian, German, Celtic.

Each of the four great European families contains a variety of subordinate languages and dialects:—

SCLAVONIAN.
Russian, Servian, Croatian, Wendish, &c.

LITHUANIAN.
Lithuanian Proper, Lettish, Old Prussian, Latin.

GERMAN.
LOWER GERMAN.
Gothic, Scandinavian, Dutch, English, &c.

UPPER GERMAN.
Old, Middle, and New High German, Greek.

CELTIC.
Erse, Gaelic, Welsh, Bas Breton, Basque.

Division of Letters.—The letters called mutes are divided into three classes—labial, lingual, and guttural—according to the organ that is employed in pronouncing them; and each class is farther subdivided, according to the nature of the pronunciation, into soft or tenues, medial, and aspirate, as is briefly shown in the following table:—

	Tenues.	Medial.	Aspirate.
Labials,	p	b	ph.
Linguals,	t	d	th.
Gutturals,	k	g	kh.

Prefixes.—When a few Greek words like ο-δοντες, α-μελγω, were compared solely with the corresponding Latin terms *dentes*, *mulgeo*, the supernumerary Greek vowels were thought to be sufficiently explained by the epithet *prosthetic*, which was applied to them. Afterwards the circle of languages compared became enlarged, and the words with prosthetic vowels were found to be very numerous; in consequence, more attention was paid to this point, and the prefixes are now considered as fragments of significant particles in composition with the root itself. I do not propose here to follow out the subject in this point of view, but merely throw out as a conjecture, that prefixes may be characteristic of classes of languages; for it is remarkable, that the prefix *ge*, which is so common in the High or Perso-German, does not occur in the Scandinavian or in the Old Low German dialects: see chapter on the German.

A-νηρ, Sabine, nero; Skr. narah; Zend, nairya.
α-στηρ, H. G. ge-stirn; Lat. stella, stera; Zend, staro.
E-λαχυς, Scand. lagur; Scl. laghii; Skr. laghus.
ε-ρευγω, Lat. ructo; Scl. ruigaiu; Lett. rugt.
ε-ρεφειν, A.-Sax. reofan; ο-ροφος, Engl. roof.

ε-ρυθρος, Lith. ruddas; Lett. ruds; Engl. ruddy.
O-δοντες, dentes; Lith. dantis; Skr. dantas.
o-νυμα, nomen; Goth. namo; Skr. and Zend, naman.
o-νυχες, Scl. nogot; Lith. nagas; Skr. nakhas.
o-φρυς, Scl. browi; Scand. bra; Skr. bhrus.

Grimm's Law.—I now proceed with the consideration of Grimm's important law, to which I have several times alluded, concerning the regular interchange of certain letters in different languages; but as Franz Bopp has recently extended the same law to Zend and Lithuanian, which are important languages for the illustration of the early history of Italy, I shall extract the account of it from his learned "Comparative Grammar," p. 78.

The German family of languages exhibits a remarkable law in the interchange of certain consonants; according to it, all the Lower German dialects when compared with Greek, Latin, and, under certain limitations, when compared with Sanskrit and Zend also, substitute aspirates in the place of the primitive tenues, *h* for *k*, *th* for *t*, and *f* for *p*; tenues in the place of medials, *t* for *d*, *p* for *b*, and *k* for *g*; lastly, medials in the place of aspirates, *g* for *ch*, *d* for *th*, and *b* for *f*. Upper German holds the same relation to Gothic, as this does to Greek, and uses aspirates for the Gothic tenues and Greek medials; tenues for the Gothic medials and Greek aspirates; and medials for the Gothic aspirates and Greek tenues.

Exceptions.—The Old High German substitutes *v* for *b*, and *z* = *ts* for *th*; this is the regular usage: there are also a few cases in which Old High German uses the Gothic *h* and *g* for its own proper *g* and *k*. As the Gothic has no aspirate of *k*, it uses, instead of *kh*, either the Sanskrit *h*, or

the Old High German *g*. The Latin, also, has no aspirate of *k*, and substitutes for χ the Sanskrit *h*, and, in a few cases, the Gothic *g*: compare χειμων, hiems, Skr. hima: χθες (χεσι), heri (hesternus), Skr. hyas: λειχω, lingo, Goth. laigo, Skr. lih.

The following table, given by Grimm (vol. i. p. 584), affords a brief summary of the particulars of his law:—

	Labials.			Linguals.			Gutturals.		
Greek,	p	b	f.	t	d	th.	k	g	ch.
Gothic,	f	p	b.	th	t	d.	...	k	g.
O. H. Germ.	b (v)	f	p.	d	z	t.	g	ch	k.

EXAMPLES [1].

Skr.	Gr.	Lat.	Goth.	O. H. Germ.
Padas	ποδες	pedes	fotus	vuoz
panc'an	πεμπε	quinque	fimf	vinf
purna	πλεος	plenus	fulls	vol
pitar	πατηρ	pater	fadrein	vatar
upari	ὑπερ	super	ufar	ubar
b'ang'		frangere	brikan	prechan
b'ug'		frui, fructus	brukon	pruchon
b'ratar		frater	brothar	pruoder
b'ar	φερω	fero	baira	piru
b'ru	οφρυς		.....	prawa
kapala	κεφαλη	caput	haubith	houpit
tvam	τυ		thu	du
tam	τον	is-tum	thana	den
trayas	τρεις	tres	threis	dri
antara	ἑτερος	alter	anthar	andar
dantam	οδοντα	dentem	thuntus	zand

[1] For the contractions and the notation used in this and the following chapters, see the list at the end of the table of Contents.

Skr.	Gr.	Lat.	Goth.	O. H. Germ.
dvau	δυο	duo	tvai	zuene
daksʿína	δεξια	dextra	taihsvo	zesawa
uda	ὑδωρ	unda	vato	wazar
duhitar	θυγατηρ		dauhtar	tohtar
dvar	θυρα	fores	daur	tor
madʿu	μεθυ		.....	meto
svan	κυων	canis	hunths	hund
hardaya	καρδια	cor	hairto	herza
aksʿa	οκος	oculus	augo	ouga
asru	δακρυ	lacrima	tagr	zahar
pasu		pecus	faihu	vihu
svasura	εκυρος	socer	svaihra	suehur
dasan	δεκα	decem	taihun	zehan
gʿna	γνωμι	gnosco	kan	chan
gʿati	γενος	genus	kuni	chuni
gʿanu	γονυ	genu	kniu	chniu
mahat	μεγαλος	magnus	mikils	mihil
hansa	χην	anser	gans	kans
hyas	χθες	heri	gistra	kestar
lih	λειχω	lingo	laigo	lekom

With respect to the distinctive use of the consonants in question, the Lithuanian[2] ranks with the elder languages, Sanskrit and Latin: e. g.

Lith.	Sansk.
ratas, rota	ratʿas
busu, I shall be	bʿavisʿyami
kas, quis	kas
dumi, I give	dadami

[2] Only, in Lithuanian, there are no aspirates; hence our mode of spelling the name is evidently incorrect. By the natives the country is called Lietuwa.

Lith.	Sanskr.
pats, potis	patis
penki, quinque	panc'an
trys, tres	trayas
keturi, quatuor	c'atvaras
ketwirtas, quartus	c'aturt'as
szaka, branch	sak'a

There are a few points of similarity in the use of mutes, between Zend and Gothic, which Bopp has explained as exceptions, owing to the particular character of Zend; but among the families of languages, Zend decidedly ranks with Sanskrit, Latin, and Lithuanian, and as clearly differs from the Gothic:—

Gothic.	Zend.
thu, thou	tum
fidvor, four	c'athwaro
fimf, five	panc'a
fulls, full	pereno
fadrein, parentes	paitarem (patrem)
faths, master	paitis
faihu, cattle	pasus
farjith, he fareth	c'araiti
fotus, foot	padha
fraihith, he asketh	peresaiti
ufar, over	upairi
thai, these	te
hvas, who	ko
tvai, two	dva
taihun, ten	dasa
taihsvo, dexter	das'ina

Now if we suppose that this class of letters, the mutes,

in passing from an older to a newer dialect, have a natural tendency to change their aspirates into medials, medials into tenues, and tenues into aspirates, we must conclude that the Old High German is younger in age than the Gothic, for it is one step farther advanced in the order of these changes; and that the Gothic is more recent than Lithuanian, Latin, Zend, and Sanskrit, for the Gothic is still one step in advance of those ancient languages[3].

It may have been observed, that, on every occasion of mentioning the older languages in this chapter, I have always omitted naming the Greek: I excluded it from that class by design, and shall now set forth the reasons that induced me to do so.

In the table expressing the law of the change of consonants, Bopp and Grimm have taken Greek as the representative of the older set of languages; although many of their own examples point out clearly that proper Greek holds only the same low rank as the Old High German:

Gr.	O. H. G.	Gr.	O. H. G.
θυγατηρ	tohtar	ο-φρυς	prawa
θυρα	tor, thur	χην	kans
μεθυ	meto, meth	λειχω	lekom

These exceptions, and numerous others which I have added below, certainly call in question the high pretensions of Greek, and require notice: it was the solution of this difficulty, with some other reasons, that induced me, in the table of languages, to place Greek in company with Old High German. In fact, the Greek words that follow Grimm's law, as δεξιος, ὑδωρ, &c. only do so from their

[3] See Quarterly Review, vol. L. p. 170. art. 'Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik.'

relation to Latin as constituting the Latin part of Greek, and are Medo-Grecian; they are therefore necessarily included under Latin, and rank with the other older languages, Sanskrit, Zend, and Lithuanian; whilst the Greek words which appear to be exceptions to that law, as θυγατηρ, οφρυς, &c. are Perso-Grecian, and rank with the more recent High German [4].

The conclusion we may draw, at the present stage of the inquiry, from our chronological scale of letters, is as follows: that Latin and Lithuanian tribes probably entered Europe at an earlier period than the Goths, but that the Goths are of greater philological antiquity than the Old High Germans and Perso-Grecians.

I beg that no one will here charge me with the folly of asserting that the historical Goths are of greater European antiquity than the classical Greeks. I shall leave the Goths to fight their own battle; it being clearly understood that, under that name, I speak of the oldest Low German tribes—the Scandinavians, old Frisians, old Low Saxons,—and do not refer to the Mæso-Goths of later Roman history: these were probably a younger, and certainly were a different, people from the former, as is plainly proved by the use of the prefix *ge* or *ga* by the Mæso-Goths, which is unknown to the others. I forbear proceeding farther with this part of the inquiry; but as the relative antiquity of Latin and Greek is rather a novel subject of discussion to English readers, and as it illustrates the general principle in reference to other languages also, I shall dwell on it a little more at large: I shall first give my own law, which excludes Greek from the older class of

[4] A similar phenomenon appears in Gothic: see ch. on German.

languages, and then add some remarks of the learned philologist Pott in illustration of this particular point.

It may be laid down as a general law, that where the Medo-European languages make use of medials, either tenues or aspirates will be found in the corresponding terms in Perso-Grecian and Old High or Perso-German. This assertion can be proved only by a detailed series of particular examples under each of the three classes of letters, which I now proceed to give:

Labials: *b* — *p* or *ph*.

Skr. b'rus, brow; Scl. browi; Scand. bra	*o-φρυς*, prawa
Skr. bib'emi; Lith. bijoti; O. Pr. bia-twei; O. Sax. bivon	*φεβομαι*, pipinon
Skr. nab'is; Lett. nabba; Lat. umb-ilicus	*ομφ-αλο*, napalo
Skr. nab'as; Scl. nebo; Lat. nebula; Lith. debbesis; Lett. debbes [5]	*νεφελη*, nepal
Skr. b'urg'g'a; Scl. bereza; Lith. berszas; Lett. behrse; Engl. birch-tree	pirihha
Lat. orb-us, ambo	*ορφ-ανος*, *αμφω*

Linguals: *d* — *t* or *th*.

Skr. dars'; Scl. drz.; Lith. drasus; Engl. daring	*θρασυς*, *θαρρειν*, taron
Skr. dvara; Scl. dver; Lith. durrys; Lett. durris	*θυρα*, tor, thur
Skr. duhitar; Scl. dotsher; Lith. dukter; O. Pr. duckti	*θυγατηρ*, tohtar
[6] Scl. ljudi; Lith. liaudis; Goth. laudeis; A.-Sax. leod	*λειτε*, *λευθε* liuti, leute
Skr. madhu; Scl. med; Lith. medus; Lett. meddus; Engl. mead	*μεθυ*, meto, meth

[5] In Lithuanian, *d* for *n*, as in the numeral *nine*: see the Vocabulary.

[6] This set of words signifies *people*: the Greek form Λευθε will be explained at the end of this chapter.

Scl. rdjti; Lith. ruddas; Lett. ruds; Engl. ruddy } ε-ρευθειν, roten, rothen

Skr. ud'as; Lith. udroja; A.-Sax. uder; Engl. udder } ουθαρ, euter

Gutturals: *g* and *h* — *k* or *kh*.

Skr. lag'us; Scl. lagan; Lith. lengwas; Engl. light } ε-λαχυς, leicht

Skr. lih; Lat. lingere; Goth. laigon — λειχω, leko

Skr. hyas; Lat. hesternus; Goth. gistra — χθες, kestar

Skr. hansa; Lat. anser; Scl. gansior; Engl. gander } χην, kans

Skr. meg'a; Scl. mgla; Lith. and Lett. migla } ο-μιχλα

Skr. ahis; Lat. anguis; Lith. angis; Scand. eglir } εχις

Now if Grimm, p. 582, has good reason for asserting that Old High German is the younger and weaker, and Gothic the older condition of the German tongue, it must necessarily follow that Perso-Grecian is the younger, and Medo-Grecian or Latin the older condition of the classic language, although the common mode of proceeding hitherto has been to derive Latin from the Greek.

"An opinion prevailed for a long time," says Pott, "but very erroneously, that Latin is a daughter, or at least a derivative, of the Greek language; and it is still asserted that Latin is a compound of various elements, of which Greek constitutes the largest portion; with just as much reason, *i. e.* with just no reason at all, it might be asserted that the Greek language is composed of Latin and some foreign elements. I suspect that the number of Greek words naturalized in Latin is exaggerated far beyond the actual extent; and as to the opinion that the Æolic dialect

is more ancient than Latin, the direct contrary is much nearer the truth; for though the Roman idiom is not nearly so copious as its classical neighbour, yet it has preserved its structure and inflexions much nearer to the primeval form."—Vol. i. p. xxviii.

"In determining a chronological arrangement of corresponding words in the related languages, it is clear that we cannot, any more than in geology, treat of such short periods as a year or a day: the latest works in the Doric dialect contain many antique forms of words, of which there is no longer any trace in Homer. The remark here made with respect to dialects, is applicable also to related idioms, which are only dialects in a higher sense. Among the Indo-European languages, the Sanskrit, as to its general character, may justly boast of the highest antiquity; but for insulated points, each idiom of the whole series can lay claim to the same honour; since each of them has retained, without any deviation from the original form, single words, which in the other languages have undergone a process of change. Even the Sanskrit itself shows marks of such alteration. The coincidence of many related but independent languages in a single word must be held decisive against the correctness of the Sanskrit, or of any individual opposing idiom; yet there are cases, in which the importance of the single dissentient voice must be allowed to outweigh a conspiring majority of the other related idioms. The Greek, however, can lay claim to no such superiority over the Latin; and he is blind who would derive Latin out of the certainly much more copious, yet infinitely more corrupted, Greek. Some authors, whom I could name, assert that an *r* has been introduced by *Epenthesis* into many Latin words, merely because the corresponding

Greek terms do not contain that letter. The fact, however, is this: in Latin, the letter *r* stands for a more ancient *s*, which has disappeared entirely out of Greek; e. g. μυ-ες for μυσ-ες. Could it have been the German *maus*, *mouse*, which forced an *s* into the Sclavonian *mysʿii*, and Sanskrit *musʿa?* or can we suppose that the more ancient Latin form *mus-es*, preserved by Varro, was derived from the later classical *mur-es?* The opinion that the Latin is a daughter or derivative of Greek, never has been, and never can be, proved: the two idioms hold the relation of sisters; and it will take much time yet to remove from our Latin grammar the numerous absurdities which disfigure it, in consequence of the old belief."—Id. vol. i. p. 75.

"On the whole, the structure of Latin is much more antique and less fragmentary than that of Greek, even in its oldest dialect, the Æolic; so that the separation of the two idioms presupposes a time when Greek had undergone less change than in any stage of it with which we are acquainted[7]. For it is a mere gratuitous assumption, that the deviation of Latin from Greek was principally caused by the operation of other Italian idioms: these certainly have supplied the Latin with many words, but have exercised little or no influence upon its highly regular structure, as appears from a comparison of its inflexions with those of the whole Indo-European class: if a deviation from the general grammar of the Indo-European languages exists to any extent, it shows itself much more strongly on the side of Greece than of Rome."—Id. vol. ii. p. 435.

[7] This condition of the language is what I have ventured to call Medo-Grecian: Pott's view is more fully developed in another extract which I have given in part iii. ch. 2.

Franz Bopp, in his latest publication, calls Greek and Latin the elder twin sisters of the European portion of the Sanskrit idioms; and distinguishes the German, Lettish, and Sclavonian, as the younger trio of a subsequent birth. (Die jungeren Drillinge, p. 248. 'Vocalismus,' 1836.) But as this representation is in direct opposition to the views I have gained, and as I shall have occasion, in the historical part of this work, to speak of the Sclavonians, Lithuanians, Lettons, and Old Prussians, I shall compare some words in their dialects with the corresponding examples given by Bopp in the other languages, in order to show that they lay claim to the same philological precedence as the acknowledged elder idioms.

	Scl.	Lith.	Lett. and O. Pr.	Goth.	O. H. G.
five	piati	penki	pienki	fimf	vinf
full	pelni	pilnas	pilns	fulls	vol
thou	ty	tu	tu	thu	du
three	tri	trys	triis	threis	dri
two	dva	du	dvai	tvai	zuene
dexter	dessna	deszine	dessine	taihsvo	zesawa
water	voda	vandu	unds	vato	wazar
daughter	dotcher	dukter	duckter	dauhtar	tohtar
door	dver	durrys	durris	daur	tor
mead	med	medus	meddus	—	meto
heart	serdze	szirdis	ssirds	hairto	herza
eye	oko	akis	ackis	augo	ouga
ten	desiati	deszimpt	dessimpts	taihun	zehan
people	liudi	liaudis	liaudis	laudeis	liuti
sit	sideti	sedeti	sehdeet	sitan	sezan
other	—	antras	antars	anthar	andar
dog	—	szuns	ssuns	hunths	hund
tear	—	aszara	assara	tagr	zahar
cattle	—	—	pecku	faihu	vihu

From the above examples, and others already given, it

is clear that these dialects possess the same relative antiquity as Sanskrit, Zend, and Latin. Now, as on the principle of Grimm's law, we exclude the Perso-Grecians, High Germans, and Goths, from among the earliest colonists of Italy; so, by an extension of the same law, we are permitted to look for the settlement of that interesting question to the other European families, the Sclavonians, Lithuanians, Lettons, and Old Prussians: which of these nations are to be accounted among the forefathers of the ancient Romans will, I hope, be satisfactorily shown afterwards on different and independent principles.

In this chapter, I have produced a Greek word λευθε as the analogous form of the High German *leute*, 'people'; before concluding, I must give my authorities, or rather my reasons, for so doing, as the word will certainly not be found in the Lexicons.

It has already appeared that the root of ε-ρυθ-ρος is ρυθ; High German, roth, rothen; Low German, ruddy, redden; and I think it will be allowed that the root of ε-λευθε-ρος is λευθε, λειτος, the freemen of a state, *the* people; High German, leute, liuti; Welsh, lhwyth; Scl. liudi; Lith. liaudis; Low Germ. laudeis, leod, lewd. Our English word *lewd* is derived directly from the Anglo-Saxon leod, and reached its present meaning through gradual stages of descent: (1.) freemen, in opposition to serfs; (2.) the laity, λειτος, in contrast with the clergy; (3.) the lower and licentious part of the laity; (4.) and lastly, from expressing licentiousness generally, it has been limited to a particular kind, as in its present use. In the third of these stages, the word *lewd* occurs in our authorized version as the translation of πονηρος; "lewd fellows of the baser sort" (Acts

xvii. 5); "if it were a matter of wrong or lewdness" (xviii. 14.).

It has been questioned[8], whether the Latin liberum is the same word as ελευθερον; but, surely, no doubt can remain when we so often see a Latin *b* in the place of the Medo-European *d* and Perso-Grecian θ: ερυθρον, rubrum, ruddy; ουθαρ, uber, udder; verbum, Goth. vaurd, Lith. vardas; barba, Scl. brada, Lith. barzda.

[8] See Pott, vol. i. p. 136, and Bopp's Vocalismus, p. 162.

CHAPTER IV.

INDO-EUROPEAN VOCABULARY—NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, NUMERALS, VERBAL ROOTS.

The striking features of similarity and diversity which exist together in related languages, have caused much perplexity to philologists: the principles of their science have enabled them successfully to establish the points of similarity, but for the explanation of the diversity we must recur to a higher source. Not to pass over the subject altogether untouched, I shall give, in illustration, two extracts from other writers.

"Numerous Greek and Welsh words are so much alike, that they coincide in sound and in signification, and are evident proofs of a very ancient affinity between these two tongues: how and when such a relation commenced, may not now appear. It is easy to say the Britons borrowed these terms from the Greeks; but it is not so easy to show the correspondence between the two nations, by means of which such a loan might be negotiated in Greece, and the goods imported to this island: besides this, the words are

of that kind which are the most unlikely of any to have ever been borrowed. Persons the fondest of borrowing, never borrow their legs or arms; nor is it probable that they should ever borrow the words by which these things are signified. Every language and people must have them from the beginning; they cannot do without them any more than they can subsist without air or water, or live destitute of the most essential parts and members of their own bodies. It must seem, therefore, most reasonable to conclude, not that one of these tongues is derived from the other, but that they are both kindred languages, and proceed from one common origin [1]."

"We know nothing," says another writer, "concerning an original Indo-European language; but we can easily detect a relationship among the members of the Indo-European family, and investigate the laws by which each is regulated. Different peoples exist in the world in different places, and with languages apparently different; nevertheless, between particular nations some secret and mysterious bond does exist, which evidently proves the common influence of some law working among them. Although we cannot satisfactorily account for the remarkable differences between related languages, it is certain that they did not arise from chance or caprice; the hidden spring is, even at this late period, found working in them too strongly to permit such an idea; and nothing, in the essential parts at least, stands but as it ought to stand. We have no grounds for assuming an original language, but what we find in the affinity of its so called derivatives; and the law of their variation proves indisputably that they could not

[1] Llewelyn's Remarks on the British Tongue, 1769, p. 23.

be derivatives at all; that they are, on the contrary, original and individual languages of great internal strictness. The objects of science are the laws which do exist, historically developed in the outward world; we shall therefore look to languages as sisters, whose parent, and the manner of whose generation, we believe we cannot know, but the manner of whose actual being we are permitted to examine and describe [2]."

Assuming then at once the existence of these sister languages, I proceed to describe the characteristic marks by which they are distinguished.

The affinity of any class of languages is ascertained by a comparison of their vocabularies and grammatical inflexions: if a general resemblance in these respects is observable, the languages are shown to be related; and the proof is the more convincing, when the similarity exists in both points, and to a considerable extent. The words compared should be such as express the most common objects, actions, and relations; and not those only which might be introduced by more civilized nations among ruder tribes in the course of commerce or of conquest. The resemblance, however, need not be evident to the eye, if we can trace the history or discover the law of the variation in form or meaning: thus we are satisfied that ποδες, fotus, and vuoz, are only necessary modifications of the same word; whilst the terms λευθε, leute, lewd, have preserved a nearer similarity of form with a greater variation in meaning. The same remark is applicable to the grammatical structure: here also a general resemblance is sufficient, if we are able to show intermediate forms which connect the unlike

[2] Foreign Quart. Review, vol. x. p. 380.

inflexions of two languages by means of other related idioms, or by the different stages of the same language. The grammatical structure of kindred languages often differs less, than the Epic inflexions of Archaic Greek vary from the forms used by the Attic writers, or by the Modern Greek. The wider we are able to extend the circle of languages, and the better we become acquainted with the different stages of particular idioms, the less violent becomes the passage from one extreme form to another. From the languages contained in Bopp's "Comparative Grammar,"—the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Sclavonian, Gothic, and German,—philologists are able to conceive an ideal original grammar, from which all the Indo-European idioms have deviated, each in its own particular way [3].

As a comparison of the grammatical inflexions of the Indo-European languages would be too complicated and tedious for the purpose of a Manual, I shall confine myself to the Vocabulary; and, for facility of reference, shall classify the words under distinct heads.

Section I. *Degrees of Relationship, &c.*

Man.—Skr. narah; Z. nairya, acc. narem; Pers. nar; Sabine, nero (neriene, strength); Gr. α-νηρ; Albanian, neri; Erse, near (neart, strength); Welsh, nerthol, strong.

——— Skr. viras; Z. vairya (strong); Lith. vyras; Lett. and O. Pr. vyrs; Lat. vir; Goth. vairs; Erse, fear; W. gwyr, wyr.

[3] For examples, see Bopp, sect. 435. p. 627., and Annals of Oriental Literature, p. 3.

Man.—Skr. manus'ya, manawa; Lat. ho-mines, hu-manus; Goth. guma, gen. guman; O. H. Germ. komo, gen. komin; Lith. zmones; O. Pr. smunents; Scl. mush, monsh; Germ. mann, mensh.

Woman.—Skr. g'ani; Z. gena; Pers. zenne; Scl. g'ena; O. Pr. genna; Gr. γυνη; Goth. quino, queins; O. Engl. quean; Icel. kona, kuinna; O. H. Germ. chena, chona; Erse, gean.

Father.—Skr. pitar; Z. paitar; Pers. pader; Gr. πατηρ; Lat. pater; Scl. bat; Goth. fadrein (parentes); L. Germ. fader; O. H. Germ. vatar; Erse, athair[4].

Mother.—Skr. matar; Z. matar; Pers. mader; μητηρ, mater; Scl. mater; Lith. moter (woman), motina (mother); Lett. mate; O. Pr. muti; Germ. muotar, mutter, moder; Erse, mathair.

Son.—Skr. sunus; Lith. sunus; Scl. syn'; O. Pr. souns; Lett. sehns (boy), subdim. shunnis; Goth. sunus; Germ. sohn.

Daughter.—Skr. duhitar; Z. dughdhar; Pers. dokhter; Gr. θυγατηρ; Scl. dotcher; Lith. dukter; O. Pr. duckti; Goth. dauhtar; Germ. tochter; Erse, dear;

Brother.—Skr. b'ratar; Z. bratar; Pers. brader; Lat. frater; φρατρα (a fraternity); Scl. brat'; O. Pr. brati; Goth. brothar; Scand. brodur; O. H. Germ. pruodar; Germ. bruder; Erse, brathair; W. brawd.

Sister.—Skr. swasar; Lith. sesser; Scl. sestra; Goth. svistar; O. H. Germ. suestar; Erse, suir; Lat. soror; Z. khanhar; Pers. khuaher; W. khwaer.

[4] In Skr., Zend, and Lith. many nouns in the Nom. case drop the *r*, which appears in the oblique cases; *e. g.* Skr. pita, acc. pitaram; Z. paita, acc. paitarem; Lith. mote, plur. moteres.—See *Bopp*, p. 168. ff.

Father-in-law.—Skr. swasurah; Lat. socer; εκυρος; Scl. svekar; Lith. szessur; Goth. svaihra; Germ. schwaeher; W. chwegrwn; Corn. huigeren.

Mother-in-law.—Skr. swasruh; Lat. socrus; Scl. svekru; Goth. svaihro; O. H. Germ. suigar; W. chwegyr; Corn. hueger.

Daughter-in-law.—Skr. snus'a; Scl. snocha; A.-Sax. snoru; German, schnur; Lat. nurus; νυος.

Brother-in-law.—Skr. devar; δαηρ; levir; Scl. dever; Lith. deveris; Lett. deeveris; O. H. Germ. zeihhur; A.-Sax. tacor.

Master and Husband.—Skr. patis; Z. paitis; Lith. patis; Lett. and O. Pr. pats; Goth. faths (dux, bruth-faths, sponsus), ποσις, Dor. ποτις; Lat. potis, Dii potes: in ut-pote, sua-pte, it signifies *self*, as in Lith. pats (ipse, maritus).

Mistress and wife.—Skr. patni; Lith. patti; Lett. and O. Pr. pattin; ποτνια. Schlegel considers ποτνια in Homer as a substantive: the title of Diana, ποτνια θηρων, and the fact that it appears only in the feminine, and generally as an adjunct of feminine proper names, seem to intimate as much. *Edinb. Rev.* vol. li. p. 469.

King.—Skr. rag'a; Lat. rex; O. Pr. rikys; Goth. reiks; O. H. Germ. rihhi; Erse, righ.

God.—Skr. devas; Z. daevas; Pers. and Russ. diw (the evil spirit); Lith. diewas; Lett. deews; O. Pr. deiws; Lat. deus; Erse, dia; W. duw; Scand. ty-r (*r* is the usual sign of the nominative); θεος.

Section II. *Parts of the Body, &c.*

Eye.—Skr. aksʿi; Z. asʿi; Lith. akis; O. Pr. ackis; Lett. azs; Scl. oko; Lat. oculus; Goth. augo; Germ. oge, auge; Dan. oje.

Brow.—Skr. bʿru; Z. bru, bruat; P. a-bru; Scl. browi; Scand. bra; Germ. braue; Erse, brai; ο-φρυς; O. H. Germ. prawa.

Nose.—Skr. nasa; Z. nao, naonha; Scl. nos; Lith. nosis; Scand. nos; Germ. nase; Lat. nasus, nares; Lett. nassis.

Tooth.—Skr. dantas; P. dendan; Lith. dantis; ο-δοντες, dentes; Goth. thuntus; Dan. tand; O. Engl. tain; Erse, dend; W. dant.

Voice.—Skr. vak; Z. vacs; P. avaz; Lat. vox; ϝοψ; O. Pr. vack, envacke (invoco); Serv. wikati (vociferari); O. H. Germ. ki-wahu (I mention).

Head.—Skr. kapala; κεφαλη; caput; O. H. Germ. houpit; Goth. haubith.

—— —Skr. sʿiras; P. ser; καρα, κρανιον, cranium, cerebrum; O. H. Germ. hirni; Germ. ge-hirn.

Hair.—Skr. kesa; P. kisu; Lith. kassa; Lett. kashoks; Scl. kosa; Lat. cæsa-ries, from which, and not from cæsus, is derived Cæsar, the long-haired.

Ear.—Scl. ucha, yshi; Lith. ausis; O. Pr. ausi; Lett. auss; ους, ουας, auris; Goth. auso; Germ. ohr; Erse, ogh.

Right (hand).—Skr. daksʿina; Z. dasʿina; δεξιος, dexter; Scl. dessna; Lith. deszine; Lett. and O. Pr. dessine; Goth. taihsvo; Erse, deas: from Skr. daksʿina comes Δαχνος, the Deccan (South).

Nail.—Skr. nakʻas; P. nakʻan; ο-νυχες; Lith. nagas; Lett. nags; Scl. nogot; Scand. nogl; Germ. nagel.

Knee.—Skr. gʻanu; Z. gʻenu; P. zanu; γονυ, genu; Alban. geniu; Goth. kniu; O. H. Germ. chniu; Germ. knie.

Foot.—Skr. padas; Z. padʻas; P. pa; ποδες, pedes; Lith. padas; Lett. pehda; Goth. fotus; Germ. fuss.

Body.—Z. kerefs, acc. kerepem or kehrpem; Lat. corpus; Germ. korper; Scand. kropp and korf; W. corph; O. Pr. kermens; Alban. kourm.

Udder.—Skr. udʻas; Lith. udroja (it udders or swells in the dugs); A.-Sax. uder; Germ. euter; Gr. ουθαρ; Lat. uber.

Navel.—Skr. nabʻi; Z. nafo; P. naf; Lett. nabba; Germ. nabel; O. H. Germ. napalo; ομφαλος, umbilicus.

Heart.—Skr. hard-aya; καρδια, cordis; Scl. serdze; Lith. szirdis; Lett. ssirds; O. Pr. sirs; Goth. hairto; Germ. herz; Erse, cridhe.

Blood.—κρυος, cruor; Scl. krowi; Lith. kraujas; O. Pr. krawia; O. Germ. grau, gore; Erse, cru.

Tear.—Skr. asʻru; Lith. aszara; Lett. assara; Pers. zareh; Germ. zahre; δακρυ, lachryma, olim dachryma; Goth. tagr; W. deigryn; Erse, deor.

Section III. *Objects of Nature and Art.*

Sky.—Skr. nabʻas; Scl. nebo; νεφελη, nebula; O. H. Germ. nepal; Germ. nebel; Erse, neal; W. nivwl: Lith. debbesis; Lett. debbes: compare *d* for *n* in the numeral *nine*.

Sun.—Skr. hailis; ἡλιος; W. haul, heol; Lat. sol; Scl. solnze; Lith. saule; Lett. ssaule; Goth. sauil; Scand. soel; Erse, saule.

Moon, or month.—Skr. masa; Z. mao, acc. maonhem; P. mah; μηνη, mensis; Scl. miesez; Lith. mienu; Lett. mehnes; Goth. mena, menoths; Erse, mios.

Star.—Skr. tara, olim stara; Z. staro; P. sitareh; α-στηρ, stella, dimin. of stera, *as* hilla *of* hira; Goth. stairno; Germ. stern; W. seren; Armoric, steren.

Earth.—Skr. go, acc. gam; γη and γαια; Goth. gavi, and Germ. gau, (a region); O. H. Germ. kewi; Erse, ce; Z. zao, acc. zanm; P. zemin; Scl. zemia and zemla; Lith. zieme; Lett. and O. Pr. semme.

Sea.—Skr. mirah; Lat. mare; Scl. more; Lith. mares; Goth. marei; Germ. meer and mere; Scand. mar; Erse, muir; W. mor.

Water.—Skr. uda; Lat. udus, unda; Gr. υδωρ; Scl. voda; Lith. vandu; Lett. udens; O. Pr. unds; Scand. udr; Goth. vato; O. H. Germ. wazar; Germ. wasser; Erse, dour; W. dwr.

Fire.—Skr. agnih; Lat. ignis; Lith. ugnis; Lett. ugguns; Scl. ogni; Erse, aghna. Through Goth. auhns, we can connect O. H. Germ. ofan; Engl. oven; ιπνος and ικνος. *Bopp's Vocalismus*, p. 155.

Light.—Skr. aloka, from loc'ayatai, lucet; λυκη, λευσσειν, luc-is; Scl. luc'; Lett. lukotees (to look around); Goth. liuhath; Germ. licht; W. lhwg; Erse, leos.

Day.—Skr. dyu and dina; Lat. dies, diurnus; Scl. den; Lith. diena; Lett. deena; O. Pr. deina; Erse, di, dia; W. dydh; Goth. dags; Germ. tag.

Night.—Skr. nisa, nakta; νυκτες, noctes; Scl. noc'; Lith.

naktis; Lett. nakts; O. Pr. nacti; Goth. nahts; Germ. nacht; Erse, nochd; W. nos.

Cloud.—Skr. megʻa; Pers. migʻ; Scl. mgla; Lith. migla; Lett. migla; Gr. *o-μιχλα*; Goth. milhma.

Winter.—Skr. hima (snow); Z. zima; P. zime-stan; Scl. zima; Lith. ziema; Lett. seema; *χειμων*, hiems: from Skr. hima, is derived the name of the Himalaya mountains, and *Imaus mons* is rightly explained *nivosus* by Pliny, x. 27.

Clothing.—Skr. vasas, vastra; Z. vasʻtra; *Fεσθης*, vestis; Goth. vasti, gavasjan.

Linen.—*λινον*, linum; Scl. len; Lith. linnai; Lett. linni; Germ. lein; W. llin.

Hemp.—Skr. sana; Pers. cannab; *κανναβις*, cannabis; Scl. konopi; Lith. kannapes; Lett. kannepes; Scand. hanpr; Germ. hanf; Erse, canaib.

Mead, or honey.—Skr. madʻu; Z. madʻu; Scl. med; Lith. medus; Lett. meddus; W. medh; Gr. *μεθυ*; O. H. Germ. metu; Germ. meth. For Latin *medus*, see Pott, vol. ii. p. 169.

Wine.—Lat. vinum; *Foινος*; Scl. vino; O. Pr. vyna; Germ. wein; Erse, fin; W. gwin, win.

Milk.—Scl. mleko, from mlzu, mulgeo; Lith. melzu (mulgeo); O. H. Germ. melhen (to milk); Scand. miolk; Germ. milch; Gr. *γλαγος*, milk, for *μλαγος*, from *α-μελγω*: also *γαλακτος*, lactis; Erse, laith; W. lhaeth.

Cheese.—Lat. caseus; Lith. kiezas; Scand. kiasir; Germ. kase; Erse, caise; W. caws.

Mill.—Pers. maliden (to grind); *μυλη*, mola, molere; Scl. melniza, meliti; Lith. malti; Germ. muhle, mahlen; Erse, muilionn; W. melin.

Yoke.—Skr. juga; P. jugʿ; ζυγον, jugum; Scl. jgo; Lith. jungyti (to yoke); Lett. jugs; Goth. juk; Germ. joch; W. jau.

Carriage.—Skr. ratʿa; Z. ratʿa; Gallic, rheda: wheel—Skr. ratʿya; Lat. rota; Lith. ratas; Lett, rats; Germ. rad; Erse, roth.

——— Skr. vaha; Lat. veha; ϝοχος; Scl. voz; Lith. wezu, inf. wessti (vehere); Scand. vogn; Germ. wagen, wain.

——— Skr. aksʿa; αμ-αξα, axis; Scl. osi; Lith. assis; Lett. ass; O. H. Germ. ahsa; Germ. achse.

House.—Skr. damas; δομος, domus; Scl. dom; Goth. timrjan (to build a house).

——— Skr. vesas; ϝοικος: village—Lat. vicus; Scl. ves; Goth. veihs.

Door.—Skr. dwara; P. dar; Scl. dwer; Lith. durrys; Lett. durris; Goth. daura; Germ. thur; θυρα; Erse, doras; W. dor.

Section IV. *Animals, &c.*

Cattle.—Skr. pasʿus; Z. pasʿeus; Lat. pecus; Gr. πων; Scl. pasu (pasco), pastyr (pastor); O. Pr. pecku; Goth. faihu; O. H. Germ. vihu; Germ. vieh.

Ox, Cow.—Skr. go, gaus; Z. gaos; P. gau; Sabine, gaius; Lett. gows; Erse, geo; Scand. ku; O. H. Germ. chuo; Germ. kuh; βους, bos; Scl. buik; W. buw.

——— Skr. uksʿan; Lat. vacca; Goth. auhsns; O. H. Germ. ohso; Germ. ochs; Erse, agh; W. ych.

Sheep.—Skr. awis; Lat. ovis; Gr. οις; Scl. owza; Lith.

awis; Lett. aws; A.-Sax. eav; Goth. avistr (ovile); Germ. ow, eowa, ewe; Erse, aoi.

Dog.—Skr. sʿwa, gen. sʿunos; Z. sʿpa, gen. sʿuno; Russ. sabaka; Lith. szu, gen. szuns; Lett. ssuns; κυων, canis; Erse, cu, gen. coin; W. ki, plur. cwn; Goth. hunths; O. H. Germ. hund.

Horse.—Skr. asʿwas; Z. asʿpa; P. asp; Lith. aszwa; ιππος, equus; Scand. eikur, oek; O. Sax. ehu; Erse, each.

Ass.—Lat. asinus, asellus; Russ. osel; Lith. asilas; Goth. asilus; Scand. asni, asen; Germ. esel; Erse, asal; W. asyn.

Wolf.—Skr. varkas; Z. vehrko; Sabine, hirpus; λυκος, lupus; Russ. wolk; Lith. wilkas; Lett. wilks; Goth. vulfs; Germ. wolf; Alban. oulk.

Mouse.—Skr. musʿika; P. musʿ; μυς, mus; Scl. musʿy; O. H. Germ. mus; Germ. maus.

Goose, gander.—Skr. hansa; P. kaz; χανς, anser; Scl. gusi, gansior; Lith. zasis; Lett. soss; O. H. Germ. kans; Germ. gans; Scand. gaas; Erse, geadh, ganreadh; W. gwyz.

Duck.—Skr. andani; Lat. anas, anatis; νηττα; Lith. antis; Germ. ente; Scand. and.

Worm.—Skr. kirmis; P. kirm; Lith. kirmele, kirminis, kirmyti (to turn to worms); Lett. zehrms, zirminsʿ; Lat. vermis; Goth. vaurms; Scand. orms; Germ. wurm.

Fly.—Skr. maksʿika; Z. makʿsʿi; Lat. musca; μυια; Scl. maucha, mywa; Lith. musse; Lett. musʿa; O. H. Germ. mucca (midge); Germ. mucke; Scand. my, mygge.

Section V. *Adjectives, Numerals, Pronouns.*

Great.—Skr. mahat; Z. mazo, acc. mazanhem; P. mih; Lat. magnus; μεγαλο; Goth. mikils; O. H. Germ. mihil; O. Engl. muchel; Erse, meall; to this root belong Scl. mogu (possum); Lett. mak-t (posse); O. Pr. massi (potest); Lith. macnis (potestas).

Broad.—Skr. prathus, compar. prat'ijas; πλατυς; Lith. platus; Lett. plats; Scand. flatr; Lat. latus.

Heavy.—Skr. gurus, compar. garijas; P. giran; Lat. gravis; Lett. gruts; Goth. kauris; βαρυς, *brutum* antiqui gravem dicebant, *Festus.*

Full.—Skr. purnas; Z. pereno; P. per; πλεος, plenus; Scl. pelny; Lith. pilnas; Lett. pilns; O. Pr. pilna; Goth. fulls; O. H. Germ. vol; W. llawn.

Saturated.—Lat. satur; Scl. sut, syty; Lith. sotus; Lett. ssats; O. Pr. satuinei (thou satisfiest); Germ. satt.

Long.—Skr. dirg'as; Z. dareg'as; P. diras; δολιχος; Scl. dolgui; Lith. ilgas; Lett. ilgs; O. Pr. ilga; Lat. longus; Goth. langs; Germ. lang.

Thin.—Skr. tanus; P. tenuk; ταννς (in composition), tenuis; Scl. tanok, tanan; Scand. thunnr, tunn; Germ. dunn; W. denau.

Light.—Skr. lag'us; ε-λαχυς; Scl. legkii, lagan; Lith. lengwas; Scand. lagur; O. H. Germ. liht; Germ. leicht; Lat. levis.

Young.—Skr. juvan; P. juan; Lat. juvenis; Scl. januii, jonos'a; Lith. jaunas; Lett. jauns; Goth. jungs; Germ. jung; W. jau, jeuant.

New.—Skr. navah; P. nu; Lat. novus; νεος; Scl.

novii; Lith. naujas; O. Pr. nauns; Goth. nivis, gen. niujis; Germ. neu; Erse, nuadh; W. newydh.

Warm.—Skr. g'arma; Z. garema; P. garm; θερμος; Scl. goriu (I burn); O. Pr. garre-wingi; Goth. varm; G. warm; Erse, garam; W. gwres.

Dry.—Skr. sus'ka; Z. huska; P. k'us'k; σαυκος, σαυσαρος, siccus; Scl. suc'ii, sus'iti (siccare); Lith. sausas; Lett. and O. Pr. sausa; W. sych.

Middle.—Skr. mad'ya; Z. maid'ya; P. mijan; Lat. medius; μεσος; Scl. mezdu (inter); Goth. midis, midjas; O. H. Germ. mitis; Germ. mittel; Erse, meadhon.

Red.—Skr. rud'ira; Lat. ruber; Scl. rdjti (to redden); Lith. ruddas; Lett. ruds; Scand. rod; Engl. ruddy, rud; Erse, ruadh; ερυθρος; O. H. Germ. rot; Germ. roth.

White.—Skr. s'veta; Scl. sviet (lucidus); Lith. swiezus; A.-Sax. sveotol; Goth. hveits; Germ. weiss.

Widowed.—Skr. vid'avah; Lat. viduus; Scl. vdovj; O. Pr. viddevu; Goth. vidovo; Germ. wittwe.

Holy.—Skr. s'vantas; Z. s'pentas; Lith. szwantas; O. Pr. swints; Lett. sswehts; Scl. swiat.

All.—Skr. vis'vas; Z. vis'pas; Lith. vissas; O. Pr. vissa; Lett. viss; Scl. vessj.

Other.—Skr. anyas; Prakrit, anno; Z. anyas; Scl. in; Lett. jaunu; Pomeranian [5], annes; αλλος, alius; Goth. aljas; O. H. Germ. ali-landi (from *other lands*); Erse, eile; W. alh.

——— Skr. antaras; Lith. and O. Pr. antars; Lett.

[5] The word *annes* (other), pronounced *annyes*, is in use among the peasants of Pomerania.—*Vater's Vgl. Tafeln*, p. 233.

otrs; Goth. anthar; O. H. Germ. andar; Lat. alter; ετερος; W. either.

Both.—Skr. ubʿa; Z. uba; Scl. oba; Lith. abbu; Lett. abbi; O. Pr. abbai; αμφω, ambo; Goth. ba; Germ. beide.

To show the affinity of the numerals, Bopp prefers giving the nominative feminine of the ordinals. P. 462.

First.—Skr. pratʿama; Z. frathema and paoirya; Dor. πρωτα, prima; Goth. fruma; Lith. pirma; O. Pr. pirmoi; Scl. pervaja.

Second.—Skr. dvitiya; Z. bitya; δευτερα, altera; Goth. anthara; Lith. antra; O. Pr. antra; Scl. vtoraja (dva, *two*).

Third.—Skr. tartiya; Z. thritya; τριτα, tertia; Goth. thridjo; Lith. trecʿia; O. Pr. tirti; Scl. tretija.

Fourth.—Skr. cʿaturtʿa and turiya; Z. tuirya; τεταρτα, quarta; Goth. fidvordo; Lith. ketwirta; O. Pr. kettwirta; Scl. cʿetvertaja.

Fifth.—Skr. pancʿama; Z. pugdha (pancʿan, *five*); πεμπτα, quinta; Goth. fimfto; Lith. penkta; O. Pr. pienkta; Scl. piataja.

Sixth.—Skr. sʿasʿtʿa; Z. cstva (csvas, *six*); ἑκτα, sexta; Goth. saihsto; Lith. szeszta; O. Pr. usʿtai; Scl. sʿestaja.

Seventh.—Skr. saptama; Z. haptatha; ἑβδομα, septima; Goth. sibundo; Lith. sekma; O. Pr. septmai; Scl. sedmaja.

Eighth.—Skr. asʿtama; Z. astema; ογδοα, octava; Goth. ahtudo; Lith. aszma; O. Pr. asmus (masc.); Scl. osmaja.

Ninth.—Skr. navama; Z. nauma; εννατα, nona; Goth.

niundo; Lith. dewinta; O. Pr. newinta; Scl. devjataja.

Tenth.—Skr. dasama; Z. dasema; δεκατα, decima; Goth. taihundo; Lith. deszimpta; O. Pr. dessimta; Scl. desjataja.

The following Celtic numerals are taken from Prichard, p. 38.

Erse:—aen, da, tri, keathair, kuig, se, secht, ocht, noi, deich.

Welsh:—un, dau, tri, pedwar, pump, chwech, saith, wyth, naw, deg.

Pronouns of the first and second persons in the singular and plural. Bopp, p. 481.

First person.—Skr. aham, *pl.* vayam and asme; Z. azem, *pl.* vaem; εγων, αμμες; ego, nos; Goth. ik, veis; Lith. asz, mes; O. Pr. as, mes; Scl. az, my.

Second person.—Skr. tvam, *pl.* yuyam and yus'me; Z. tum, *pl.* yuschem and yus; τουν, υμμες; tu, vos; Goth. thu, yus; Lith. tu, jus; O. Pr. tou, jous; Scl. ty, vy.

Section VI. *Verbal Roots.*

Skr. g'an, *to be born*, g'ag'anmi; Z. zan, zazami; Gr. γεν, γιγ(ε)νομαι, γενναω, γενος, gignor, genero, genus; Lith. gemu, inf. gimti; Lett. dsimt; O. Pr. gemmons (natus); Goth. kin, keina, kuni (genus); Engl. kin; Erse, gein; W. geni.

Skr. mar, *to die*, maryatai (moritur), marah (mors); Z. mar, merethyu, *dead*, mahrka, *death;* P. murden;

Lat. mori; Scl. mrijeti; Lith. mirti; Lett. mirt; Goth. maurthr, and Germ. mord, *murder;* Erse, marbh, *dead;* W. marw, *to die.*—Compare μαραινω, marcere; Lith. and Lett. mirkt, *to wither.*

Skr. g'iv, *to live*, g'ivami, g'iva, *life;* Z. g'i or g'va, g'ayami; ζαω, vivo; Scl. g'ivu, g'iva, *life;* Lith. gyvoti; Lett. dsivoht; O. Pr. givat, giva, *life;* Goth. quivs, *living*, or Engl. *quick;* Scand. quikr; Erse, beo, *to live;* W. byw; βιος.

Skr. g'na, *to know*, g'anami, g'natas (gnotus); γινωσκω, gnosco, gnarus; Scl. znati; Lith. zinoti; Lett. sinnat; Goth. kann, *I know;* O. H. Germ. chnata, *I knew;* Germ. kennen; Engl. to ken, *to know;* W. gwn, *I know.*

Skr. vid, vaida, *I know;* Z. vid; Gr. Fειδω, video; Scl. vidjeti, *to see*, vjezti, *to know;* Lith. veizdmi; O. Pr. veist, vaidimi, *we know*, acki-visti, *openly, with eye-witnesses;* Goth. vid; Scand. vide, *to know;* O. H. Germ. viz; Germ. wissen; Engl. to wit, wot, wise; W. gwydh and wydh, *knowledge.*

Skr. bud', *to know* and *to waken*, bod'ati, *he knows*, bud'ah, *a sage, wakeful;* Z. bud', *to see;* Scl. buditi, *to waken;* Lith. bundeti; Lett. buddinat; O. Pr. bude, *they are wakeful;* Erse, fodh, *knowledge*, fodhach, *wise.*

Skr. dars', dadars'a, *I saw;* Z. dadares'a; δερκω; O. Pr. en-deirit, *to look on;* Lith. dairaus, *look about;* Lett. pee-durknite, perspicue; Erse, dearc, *sight*, dearcam, *to see;* W. drem, *sight.*

Skr. s'ru, inf. shrotum, *to hear*, s'ravayami, and Zend, s'ravayemi, *I make to hear;* κλυω, κλυτος, cluere, inclutus; Scl. slutati, *to hear;* Lith. klausyti; Lett. klaussiht; O. Pr. klausit; Goth. hliuma, *an ear;* Scand. hlyda,

to hear; Erse, cluinam, *I hear*, cluas, *an ear;* W. clyw, *hearing*, clust, *an ear.*

Skr. man, manyati, *he thinks*, manas, *mind;* Z. man, *to think*, mano, *mind*, also *to speak*, manthra, *speech;* μναομι, μεμονα, μενος, moneo, memini, mens; Scl. mjeniti, *to think*, po-mjanu, *I remember;* Lith. meneti; Lett. pee-minne, ad-moneo; O. Pr. po-minisna, *thought;* Goth. munan; O. H. Germ. manon; Germ. meinen; Engl. *to mean;* W. menw, *mind.*

Skr. i, *to go*, emi, imas; ειμι, ιμεν, eo, imus; Z. aeiti (it); P. amden; Scl. iti; Lith. eiti; Lett. eet; O. Pr. eit (it); Goth. iddja, *I went*, hir-i, *come here.*

Skr. st'a, *to stand*, tis'tami; Z. histami; ἱστημι; P. astaden, stare; Scl. stati; Lith. stoweti; O. Pr. staninti (stans), po-stat; Goth. standan; O. H. Germ. stantan; Erse, stadam, *to stand;* W. eistedh, *to sit.*

Skr. sad, *to sink*, ni-sad, *to sit down;* P. ni-s'esten; ιζομαι, εδος, sido, sedeo; Scl. sjedjeti; Lith. sedeti; Lett. sehdeet; O. Pr. sidons; Goth. sitan; O. H. Germ. sezan; Germ. sitzen; Erse, suidham.

Skr. vah, *to carry*, vahati; Z. vazaiti; Ϝοχεω, veho; Scl. wezu, inf. westi; Lith. wessti; Lett. and O. Pr. west; Scand. vega; Germ. wagen, *wain.*

Skr. b'ar, *to bear*, bib'arti; Z. baraiti; P. berden; Goth. bairan; Sax. bearan; O. H. G. peran; Erse, bheirim, bearadh; φερω, fero: ber occurs in salu-ber, candelabrum, &c.

Skr. kar, *to make*, karoti, karnomi in the Vedas; Z. kerenaomi, kerenoiti; P. kerden; κραινω, creo, ceremonia; O. Pr. kura (creavit); O. H. Germ. karawan; Scand. ger-dh (actio); Erse, ceard, *workman.*

Skr. da, *to give*, dadami; Z. dadhami; P. daden; διδωμι,

do, dare; Scl. damj, inf. daiti; Lith. dumi, dudu; Lett. do-t; O. Pr. dast (dat), inf. datwei; Erse, daighim (do), inf. daighead.

Skr. d'a, *to place*, dad'ami; Z. da, ni-dathama (deponamus); P. dan (*a place*, in composition); Gr. θη, τιθημι; Lith. demi, dedu, inf. deti; Lett. deht; O. Pr. sen sen-ditans rankans, *with hands folded or placed together*. In Zend, the root *da* often signifies *to make:* hence O. L. Germ. doan, gedon; O. H. Germ. tuon, kitan; Germ. thun, gethan; Engl. *to do, done;* Scl. djejes'i, *thou makest;* Skr. in composition, vi-dad'ami, *I make.*

Skr. ad, *to eat*, admi; εδω, edo, esu; Scl. jamj, for jadmi, inf. jesti; Lith. edmi, inf. esti; Lett. ehmu, ehde, inf. ehst; O. Pr. ist, inf. istwei, part. iduns, idis, *food;* Goth. itan; O. H. Germ. izan; Germ. essen; Erse, ithim, inf. itheadh; W. ysu, *to eat.*

Skr. pi, *to drink*, pivami, inf. patum; πιω, πινω, poto; Scl. pju, inf. piti; Lith. pota; O. Pr. pouis, *drink*, inf. pouton; Alban. pii, inf. me pym.

Skr. tars', *to parch, to thirst;* τερσειν, torreo, terra (sicca); Lith. trokssti; Goth. thairsan (arere), thaursjan (sitire); Germ. dorren, dursten.

Skr. tap, *to heat*, inf. taptum; Z. tap, tafnus, *burning;* P. taften; Gr. ταφ, εταφον, (1.) *to burn*, (2.) *to bury*, τεφρα, *ashes;* tepeo, tepidus; Scl. tepleiu, teplii.

Skr. b'i, *to fear*, bib'emi, b'is, *fear;* Z. bio, bias, *fear;* P. bim; Lith. baime, bijau, inf. bijoti; Lett. bit; O. Pr. bia, *he fears*, inf. biatwei, biasna, *fear;* Pole, baz; O. Sax. bivon; O. H. Germ. pipinon, *to tremble;* φεβομαι, φοβος; Scl. boi-s'i, *thou fearest.*

Skr. d'ru, *to stand sure*, inf. d'ravitum, d'ruvas, *sure;* Lith. drutas, *secure;* O. Pr. druwis, *belief*, inf. druwit;

Goth. trauan; O. H. Germ. truen; Germ. trauen, *to trust;* Engl. *true, troth.*

Skr. kars', *to plough*, kars'ta, *ploughed;* Z. karsta, *id.;* ἀροω, aro; Scl. oriu, orati; Lith. aru, arti; Lett. art; O. H. Germ. aran; Dutch, aeren; O. Engl. *to ear* (Gen. xlv. 6); Erse, aram, inf. araidh; W. aredig.— Compare Skr. kam, kamayami; Lat. amo; Walachian, chamor, *love.*

Skr. su (*to sow?*), savami, genero, produco; Lat. serere for se-sere, satus; Scl. sjetati; Lith. seti; Lett. seht; Goth. saian; Germ. saen; Scand. soa; Engl. *to sow.* Seed: Lat. se-men; Scl. sje-ma; Lith. semenys; O. H. Germ. samo.

Skr. vak's', *to increase*, vak's'atai; Z. uk's', uk's'yann (augebant); αυξεται, auget; O. Pr. ucka, *an augmentative particle*, ucka-kuslaisin, *very weak;* Goth. vahsjan; G. wachsen; Engl. *to wax.*

Skr. star, *to strew*, starnomi; Z. stereta (expansus); στορνυμι, sterno, stratus; Scl. stre-ti (expandere), stla-ti (sternere); Goth. straujan; G. streuen.

Skr. mis', *to mix*, mis'rayatai; P. amik'ten; μισγεται, miscet; Scl. mjesiti; Lith. missti; Lett. missetees; G. mischen; Erse, meas-gaim; W. mysgy.

Skr. b'u, *to be*, inf. b'avitum; Z. bu, bavaiti, *he is;* P. bu-den, *to be;* Scl. bu-ti, *to be;* Lith. buti, bu-su (ero); Lett. but, biju (fui); O. Pr. bout, bouuns, *being;* Low. Germ. beon, *to be;* Engl. *be, been;* O. H. Germ. pim, *I am;* Erse, bhith, *to be*, bu mi, *I was;* W. bod, *to be*, bum, buost, bu, *I, thou, he was;* φυω, φυναι, fui, fuvimus.

Skr. as, *to be*, asti, *he is;* Z. asti; P. est; εστι, est; Scl. jest; Lith. esti; Lett. essmu (sum); O. Pr. ast;

Goth. and Germ. ist; Engl. *is;* Erse, is; W. ys, oes.

I shall conclude this chapter with one or two specimens of grammatical inflexions in the various languages here mentioned. The demonstrative pronoun, which is used as the definite article in Greek and German only, is thus declined. (Bopp, p. 496.)

Nominative.

	Singular.			Plural.		
Skr.	sa	sā	tat	tê	tas	tani, ta
Z.	ho	hā	tat	tê	tao	ta
Gr.	ὁ	ἁ, ἡ	το	τοι, οἱ	ται, αἱ	τα
Lat.	is-Te	is-Ta	is-Tud	is-Ti	is-Tæ	is-Ta
Scl.	t'	ta	to	ti	ty	ta
Lith.	tas	ta	tai	tie	tos	—
Goth.	sa	so	thata	thai	thos	tho
O. H. G.	der	diu	daz	diê	dio	diu

Accusative.

Skr.	tam	tām	tat	tan	tās	tani, ta
Z.	tem	tanm	tat	tan	tao	ta
Gr.	τον	τᾱν, την	το	τους	τᾱς	τα
Lat.	is-Tum	is-Tam	is-Tud	is-Tos	is-Tās	is-Ta
Scl.	t'	tu	to	ty	ty	ta
Lith.	tan	tan	tai	tus	tas	—
Goth.	thana	tho	thata	thans	thos	tho
O. H. G.	den	dia	daz	die	dio	diu

Instrumental.

Skr.	tena	taya	tena	tais	tab'is	tais
Z.	ta	tahmya	ta	tais	tabis	tais
Scl.	tjem	toju	tjem	tjemi	tjemi	tjemi
Lith.	tu, tumi	ta	tu, tumi	tais	tomis	tais

Dative.

	Singular.			Plural.		
Skr.	tasmai	tasyai	tasmai	teb'yas	tab'yas	teb'yas
Z.	tahmai	tanhai	tahmai	taeibyo	tabyo	taeibyo
Gr.	τῳ	τᾳ, τῃ	τῳ	Loc. τοισι	ταισι	τοισι
Lat.	is-Ti	is-Ti	is-Ti	is-Tis	is-Tis	is-Tis
Scl.	tomu	toi	tomu	tjem	tjem	tjem
Lith.	tam	tai	tam	tiem(u)s	tọm(u)s	tiem(u)s
Goth.	thamma	thizai	thamma	thaim	thaim	thaim
O. H. G.	demu	deru	demu	dem	dem	dem

Ablative.

Skr.	tasmat	tasyas	tasmat	teb'yas	tab'yas	teb'yas
Z.	tahmat	tanhat	tahmat	taeibyo	tabyo	taeibyo
Lat.	is-To(d)	is-Ta(d)	is-To(d)	is-Tis	is-Tis	is-Tis

Genitive.

Skr.	tasya	tasyas	tasya	tes'am	tasam	tes'am
Z.	tahe	tanhao	tahe	taes'anm	taonhanm	taes'anm
Gr.	τοιο	ταϛ, τηϛ	τοιο	των	ταων, των	των
Lat.	is-Tius	is-Tius	is-Tius	is-Torum	is-Tarum	is-Torum
Scl.	togo	toja	togo	tjech	tjech	tjech
Lith.	to	tos	to	tu	tu	tu
Goth.	this	thizos	this	thize	thizo	thize
O. H. G.	des	dera	des	dero	dero	dero

Locative.

Skr.	tasmin	tasyam	tasmin	tes'u	tasu	tes'u
Z.	tahmi	tahmya	tahmi	taes'va	tahva	taes'va
Scl.	tom	toi	tom	tjech	tjech	tjech
Lith.	tame	toje	tame	tuse	tosa	tuse

DUAL.

Masculine.

	Skr.	Z.	Gr.	Scl.	Lith.
N. Acc.	tau, ta	tao, ta	τω	ta	tu
I. D. Ab.	tab'yam	taeibya	D. τοιν	I. D. tjema	D. tiem
G. L.	tayos	tayo	G. τοιν	toju	tu

Feminine.

	Skr.	Z.	Gr.	Scl.	Lith.
N. Acc.	te	te	τα	tje	tie
I. D. Ab.	tabyam	tabya	D. ταιν	tjema	tom
G. L.	tayos	.....	G. ταιν	toju	G. tu

Neuter.

N. Acc.	te	te	τω	tje	....

The rest as the Masculine.

Remarks.—Besides the nom. masc. *sa* in Skr., we have the forms *so*, *sah*, and *sas*. The words σημερον, *this day*, σητες, *this year*, point to a primitive σος, σα, το(τ), as in Skr. and Goth. The ancient gen. τοιο has usurped the place of a more antique τοσιο, like the Skr. ta-sya; the possessive adjective δημοσιος is derived from this antique gen. form, δημοσιο, δημοιο, δημου. The Latin gen. is-Tius was originally Tijus, tajus, tijus, like hujus, cujus; the feminine tajus resembles the Skr. ta-syas. The plur. gen. is-Torum is in the place of the more ancient tosum, tasum, tosum; the dat. is-Tis, for tobus, tabus, compare ambobus. Many adverbs and conjunctions are nothing more than antique fragments of pronouns: thus, ibi, alibi, alicubi, are locative cases of the pronouns is, alius, aliquis, but in dative forms (tibi, sibi); just as, conversely, the Gr. τοις has a dative meaning, but a locative form. The word tamen is supposed to be a genuine locative form of the demonstrative pronoun: compare the Skr. tasmin, and Lith. tame.

The present tense of the verb *to give* is thus given by Bopp, p. 698:—

Singular.

Skr.	Z.	Gr.	Lith.	Scl.
dada-mi	dadha-mi	διδω-μι	du(d)-mi	da(d)-mj
dada-si	dadha-hi	διδω-ς	dud-i	da(d)-si
dada-ti	dadhai-ti	διδω-τι	dus-ti	das-tj

Dual.

Skr.	Z.	Gr.	Lith.	Scl.
dad-vas	.....	.....	du(d)-wa	dad-e-va
dat-t'as	das-to	διδο-τον	dus-ta	das-ta
dat-tas	das-to	διδο-τον	as Sing.	das-ta

Plural.

dad-mas	dad-e-mahi	διδο-μες	du(d)-me	da(d)-my
dat-t'a	das-ta	διδο-τε	dus-te	das-te
dada-ti	dade-nti	διδο-ντι	as Sing.	dad-jatj

The present tense of the verb *as*, to be, is as follows: p. 695.

Singular.

Skr.	Gr.	Lith.	Scl.	Goth.
as-mi	εμ-μι	es-mi	jes-mj	i-m
a-si	εσ-σι	es-si	je-si	i-s
as-ti	εσ-τι	es-ti	jes-tj	is-t

Dual.

s-vas	.....	es-wa	jes-va	siju
s-t'as	εσ-τον	es-ta	jes-ta	sijuts
s-tas	εσ-τον	as Sing.	jesta	.....

Plural.

s-mas	εσ-μες	es-me	jes-my	sijum
s-t'a	εσ-τε	es-te	jes-te	sijuth
s-anti	(σ)-εντι	as Sing.	s-utj	s-ind

Zend forms are ah-mi, a-hi, as-ti, 3rd P. Plur. h-enti.

PART II.

ON THE HISTORY

OF THE

EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

For centuries the ancient history of the Greeks and Romans was considered as the limit of historical investigations; it is only lately that the darkness, which hung over the ante-historical period of these two universal nations, has been penetrated, and a more searching look been directed towards the German (and other European) families, through whose history that of the Greeks and Romans is at the same time illustrated.—*Meidinger.*

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SCLAVONIAN LANGUAGES.

As I have already had occasion to advert to the history of the Iranian languages,—Sanskrit, Zend, and Persian,—to an extent which is sufficient for the object of this work, I shall confine my remarks, in this Second Part, entirely to the European idioms; and shall commence with the extensive family of the Sclavonian dialects.

Modern Russia, from its extent and position, would always form the natural outlet for Median tribes escaping to the North; we should, therefore, expect to find some traces of a Median origin in the varied population of Russia; and such traces are afforded us in the notices of ancient history, and the comparison of languages in modern times.

Of all European idioms, the Sclavonian branch, comprising Russian and its kindred dialects, occupies the greatest extent of territory. Commencing at the Adriatic and Baltic, it spreads eastward to the neighbourhood of

Japan. Next to the Arabians, who once held sway from Malacca to Lisbon (says Schlozer), never any people spread so widely their language, their power, and their settlements. From Ragusa on the Adriatic, to the shores of the Arctic ocean, on the right hand as far as Kamschatka, on the left as far as the Baltic, one every where meets with a Sclavonian population, either in a ruling or subordinate condition.

The Sclavonian races in European Russia are divided by native writers, from a consideration of the languages, into two classes; the South-east, and North-west. To the first belong the Russian and Rusniak, the Bulgarian, Servian, Bosnian, Dalmatian, Croatian, and Wendish; to the second, the Bohemian, Moravian, Slowakian, Sorbian, Polish, and Silesian [1]. But as my chief concern is with the primitive tribes of Sclavonian origin, I shall confine my remarks principally to those mentioned by ancient historians; the Sauromatæ, Sarmatæ, Venedi, Illyrians, Pannonians, &c.

The Sauromatæ occur first on the east of the Tanais, where Herodotus, Scylax, and Scymnus Chius name them as the first people on the Asiatic side; subsequently, they spread widely through the eastern regions of Europe. Diodorus Siculus says, "The Scythians, having subdued part of Asia, drove several colonies out of the country, and, among them, one of the Medes; this, advancing towards the Tanais, formed the nation of the Sauromatæ;" ii. 89. The Sarmatæ were connected in their origin, and, probably, in their name, with the older Sauromatæ: Sarmatæ Medorum, ut ferunt, soboles, *Pliny*, vi. 7.

[1] Geschichte der Slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten von P. J. Schaffarik, p. 22.

It is highly probable that the Russians were known to Herodotus, and that they are mentioned by him under a term little varying from that which is now applied to the same people by their Finnish neighbours; for the Finns distinguish the Muscovites by the name of Rosso-lainen, or Russian people, and call themselves and nations of their own kindred, Suoma-lainen. The word Rosso-lainen, heard and written by a Greek, would be Rhoxolani. The Rhoxolani, who are first described by Herodotus, are said, in the age of Strabo, to have inhabited the plains near the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes[2]. The Krobyzi, also, of the same historian (Herod. iv. 49.), are thought by some authors to be related to the modern Kriwizen in Russia. Further mention of the Krobyzi occurs in Strabo, lib. vii.; Pliny, iv. 12.; Steph. Byzant., and Nestor[3].

"The Finns and the Sclavonians are generally supposed," says Mr. Prichard, p. 15, "to have been the latest among the great nations who formed the population of Europe. But Finningia and the Fenni are mentioned by Tacitus and Pliny, who place them beyond Germany, and towards the Vistula. The Sclavonians, indeed, are not early distinguished in Europe under that name; but by the appellation of Wends, given to the Sclavonian race by the Germans, we recognise them in the geographical descriptions of Pliny and Tacitus, who mention the Venedi, and place them near the Finns, and on the borders of Finningia. There the Ουενεδαι, or Winidæ, are stationed by Ptolemy and Jornandes; and the last of these writers appropriates expressly the name of Winidæ to the Sclavonic nations."

[2] Prichard, p. 16.

[3] Schaffarik, p. 3.

Arndt insists much on the great antiquity of the Sclavonian Wends in Europe. I fully agree with him in conceding to the Sclavonians this precedence among the European nations; yet, for reasons which will more conveniently be given in Part III., I cannot but think that the Veneti of Antenor, who built Patavium, the parent city of Venice, and gave their name to the district, were of an entirely different race from the Venedi or Sclavonian Wends. Micali states that the origin of these Veneti is still problematical, or rather entirely unknown. (Vol. ii. p. 26.)

As dialects of the Sclavonian family occupy at the present day a large proportion of our quarter of the globe, whilst the Sclavonian name appears in history no earlier than the fifth century of our era, the important question arises, In what region of the earth did the Sclavonian people and tongues lie concealed down to so late an epoch? "It is very probable," says Arndt, "that the Sclavonian language, for a very long period before the foundation of Rome, was the predominant idiom on the confines of Italy, and even in some districts of that country itself. The known affinity of the Old Roman and Sclavonian; the present existence of the language on the borders of Italy, from which point it extends to the remotest distance in the North-east; the name of Veneti, which occurs in the earliest traditions of Italy—which in the middle ages gave name to Venice (Venetiæ)—and which in modern times is the well-known name of Sclavonian tribes in Russia (Venedi, Winidæ, Wends); all these and other circumstances, taken together, afford to the above supposition such a high degree of probability, that he must bring forward very strong proofs indeed who would maintain the con-

trary position. The common opinion that the Sclavonians first took possession of Illyria and the neighbouring countries only at the era of the great revolution which induced the fall of the Roman empire, may perhaps rest on a mere strife of words. For, granting that about this period a Sclavonian people, under this new and peculiar title, conquered those countries and settled among the natives, yet these previous inhabitants must have spoken some language, which may as reasonably be supposed related to the Sclavonian, as to any other family of idioms. It is no more improbable that the Old Veneti, Illyrians, Pannonians, &c. belonged to the Sclavonian race, than that the Tungri, Suevi, Marcomanni, may justly be included in the German family[4]."

Niebuhr combats this opinion of an affinity between the Sclavonians and the old Illyrians; but after his paradoxes concerning the Etruscans, his authority on the affinity of nations cannot rank very high. Having stated that the Etruscans, coming from the North, were called Tyrrhenians, merely from the circumstance of having conquered and settled in Tyrrhenia, he proceeds: "In like manner it is imagined by very many to this day, that the Dalmatians of the Sclavonic race, as they bear the name of Illyrians, are descended from the ancient Illyrians who inhabited the same regions, and consequently that the latter were a Sclavonic people; an error which, when it has once gained a footing, it is useless to combat with the circumstantial evidence afforded by the early history of nations. It is worthy of remark, that the Pannonians must have had a very great facility for acquiring the Latin language; since under Augustus, a very short time after they

[4] Arndt, p. 89.

became dependent upon Rome, the use of it was generally diffused among them: in the same manner it is in Pæonia and Upper Macedonia, and in the territory of the Epirot tribes on the borders of Thessaly, that the Wallachian tongue arose; while the Illyrians retained the Skypian."—Vol. i. pp. 38. 51.

Xylander, in his treatise on the Skype or Albanian tongue, has given a list of above 3500 words in that language, which he has endeavoured to share among the several European idioms, to the best of his ability; but where any term is evidently common to several languages, he decides in favour of that idiom in which the word has the greatest *external* resemblance to the Albanian. On this rather unscientific principle he assigns, out of the whole number, to the Turkish 190 words; to the Greek, 400; to Latin, 650; to German, 500; to Sclavonian, 60; so that there are above 1800 words common to the Albanian with some of the European languages. In this, which he says must necessarily be only a very rough approximation, the Sclavonian contains about $\frac{1}{60}$ of the whole; Turkish, $\frac{1}{18}$; Greek, $\frac{1}{8}$; German, $\frac{1}{7}$; Latin, $\frac{1}{5}$; and Indo-European terms constitute more than one-half (p. 294). But if we consider that a full moiety of Latin itself consists of Sclavonian and Lithuanian elements, we may rest assured that some error has vitiated his calculation in the relative proportion of the Sclavonian and Latin shares. From the great number of Latin and Greek words, and from the greater proportion of Latin to Greek, I am inclined to think that the Albanians are the nearest modern representative of the ancient people which I have named Medo-Grecian. Xylander looks upon them as an original Indo-European race, related to the old Illyrians;

and from the abundance of German in Skype, he supposes it was these Illyrians coming round by the North-East, and not necessarily or solely proper German tribes descending from the North, who introduced into Italy the numerous German forms which are observed in Latin (pp. 296, 319).

"The original seat of the Sclavonians," says Schaffarik, "appears to have been India, as Persia was that of the Germans: we are led to this as a well-grounded conclusion, from a comparison of Sclavonian with Sanskrit, and of German with Persian. We know not the time or cause of the first appearance of the Sclavonian race in Europe; yet it is obvious that the event happened some hundred, if not a full thousand, years before our era" (p. 2). If this author had been acquainted with Zend, he would probably have modified a little his opinion concerning the Indian origin of the Sclavonians. I have already expressed my conviction that the direct influence of Sanskrit was confined to the East, and that the numerous languages of Europe are derived principally from the Old Median. In accordance with this view, we find that the Sauromatæ and Sarmatæ are stated in history to have been descendants of the Medes, whilst the old language of Media contains forms of words which are intermediate to Sanskrit and Sclavonian: e. g. Skr. aham; Zend, azem; Scl. az, I: Skr. go, acc. gam; Zend. zao, acc. zanm; Scl. zemie; O. Pr. semme, *earth:* Skr. s'va; Zend. s'pa; Russian, sabaka, *dog.* In the case of the last example, we happen to know historically the corresponding term in the Old Median tongue, from an eastern legend which has been preserved by Herodotus. He says, the shepherd's wife who brought up Cyrus was called Spako; which term, in the Median language, is synonymous with the Greek κυων;

for the Medes call a bitch 'spako' (i. 110). This word spako, which has been supposed to be a diminutive of spa, bears as near a resemblance as we could expect to Zend and the related languages: in the Russian Comparative Dictionary, of two hundred languages and dialects, the nearest word of the same meaning is the Russian sobaka, sabaka (Arndt, p. 185).

One point in which Sclavonian comes nearer to Zend[5] than to Sanskrit is the use of sibilants: Sanskrit possesses only four, whilst Zend and Sclavonian possess six sibilants, and make the same plentiful use of them: their power would be best represented by the following combination of letters, si, zi, shi, tsi, tshi, je with the French sound of *j*. In Zend and Sclavonian, a sibilant is regularly substituted for a Sanskrit aspirate *h*, and sometimes for other letters:

Skr.	Z.	Scl.	
hima	zima	zima	hiems
vahati	vazaiti	vezeti	vehit
aham	azem	az	ego
gam	zanm	zem	γην
hardaya	—	serdze	καρδια

With respect to labials, Schaffarik states that the Sclavonians have only *w*, *b*, *p*, and entirely dispense with the letter *f* in genuine Sclavonian words: e. g. wru, ferveo; bob, faba; bodu, fodio; peru, ferio; plamen, flamma, &c. (p. 36.) Although the Romans possessed the form of the letter *f*, it is remarkable that its utterance was very peculiar, and bore no resemblance to the soft sound of the Greek φ, or even to the Æolic digamma. I am not

[5] According to Pott (vol. ii. p. 551), the Zend infinitive, like the Sclavonian and Lithuanian, terminates in *ti*; whilst the Sanskrit infinitive, like the Latin supine, ends in *tum*.

aware that any philologist has attempted to define its precise sound; it is well known to have been very discordant, and rather resembled a violent whizzing between the teeth than any human articulation. Quinctilian thus describes it: "Nam et illa (*f*), quæ sexta est nostrarum, penè non humanâ voce, vel omnino non voce potius, inter discrimina dentium efflanda est; quæ etiam, cùm vocalem proxima accipit, quassa quodammodo: utique, quoties aliquam consonantium frangit, multo fit horridior" (lib. xii. 10). Now, as there exists no doubt concerning the affinity of Latin with the Lithuanian and Russian languages, a comparison of some Latin word, whose initial is *f*, with the corresponding term in the cognate languages, may lead us to discover the true sound of that letter. The Latin word fera, *wild beast*, answers this purpose, as it corresponds with the Russian svera; Lettish, svehrs; and Old Prussian, svirs. Thus, in the mouth of an old Roman and a Russian, I have no doubt that the words svera, fera, would coincide in sound as they do in sense; and the double consonant *sv* or *zw* exactly suits Quinctilian's description of the letter *f*, which the Greeks had great difficulty in pronouncing accurately: "Quin fordeum, fedusque, pro aspiratione, *f* vel simili literâ utentes; nam, contra, Græci aspirare solent ϕ; ut, pro Fundanio, Cicero testem, qui primam ejus literam dicere non posset, irridet" (Quinctil. lib. i. 4).

Also the word veho, in its ancient form vefo, comes much nearer in sound to the Russian vezu, and Zend vazami. Müller has observed, that the Latin alphabet contains much that is quite foreign to the Greek: "The letter *f* coincides in sound neither with the Æolic digamma, which is V, nor yet with the Greek ϕ; although a number

of words, whose initial in Greek is ϕ, have retained *f* in the corresponding Latin terms: fagus, fama, fero, &c." (Vol. i. p. 20.) This statement is only partially correct; the fact is, that in Latin there are two distinct sounds represented by the letter *f*, as will be shown more fully in the chapter on the Sabines.

Hence, I cannot but think that Pott shows less than his usual discernment when he says, The identity of $\theta\eta\rho$, High Germ. thier, A.-Sax. deor (fera), is still problematical, on account of the Gothic dihzam (dat. pl. belluis); for although the High German *r* may regularly take the place of the Gothic *z*, yet the letter *h* in dihzam would find no sufficient illustration: also the identity, which Dobrowsky assumes (*Institutiones Sclavonicæ*, p. 138), between $\theta\eta\rho$, fera, and Scl. swjerj, is any thing but self-evident; for although the Scl. selwj may correspond to the Greek $\chi\varepsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$, and therefore *s* to χ, yet *s* would not on that account take the place of θ or *f*. (Vol. ii. p. 278.) Now, granting that a Sclavonian sibilant could never hold the place of θ or *f* in the common acceptation, yet it is evident from Quinctilian, that the Latin *f* is sibilant in nature, and exactly equivalent to the Sclavonian *sw*. I plainly confess that I am at a loss to account for the appearance of the *h* in the Gothic dihzam, but I am not deterred on that account from maintaining the identity of that whole series; and the correctness of this view is shown by the following parallel:—

Goth.	A.-Sax.	O. H. G.	N. H. G.	Gr.	Lat.
dihzam	deor	tior	thier	$\theta\eta\rho$	fera
daur	dor	tor	thur	$\theta\upsilon\rho\alpha$	fores

Also the Latin ol-us (ol-escere), under its older forms holus, helus, folus, has the same root as $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$, $\tau\eta\lambda\varepsilon\theta\alpha\omega$,

to be green; Scl. zelie (olus); Lith. zole; Lett. sale. (See Pott, vol. i. p. 141.) To these may be added the Old Prussian sali, *herb*, and the Sabine fol-ium, *foliage.*

Although, as members of the Indo-European family, Sclavonian and German contain many roots in common, yet there exists a most striking diversity, particularly in structure, between the two languages.

The Sclavonians prefix no article to their nouns; in which point they approach much nearer to the Latin, than to the Greek and German, which cannot stir without it. In the construction of sentences also, Sclavonian very nearly resembles the ancient Roman form, so that the Russian language admits of a much more elegant and literal translation of Latin authors, than can be effected in German. This circumstance is the more surprising, since the Russians, as members of the Greek church, have never been subject to the Roman law, or the Latin ritual of the Western church; whilst the German language, in consequence of the Latin influence over it, has always been cultivated after Roman models. (Arndt, p. 88.)

In his "Comparative Grammar," Bopp observes, that the affinity of the Sclavonian with Sanskrit and its European sister languages has been long acknowledged, and that the coincidence in the personal terminations of the verbs is particularly striking. For instance, no one could doubt the coincidence of da-mj, da-si, das-tj, with the Sanskrit dadami, dadasi, dadati, and the analogous forms in Greek and Latin. But except in the single case of the Doric ἐσ-σι, *thou art*, even Greek has lost the proper termination *i* of the second person singular: the Sclavonian alone, besides Sanskrit and Zend, has retained the full form *si*, in common use. However, by the side of the most striking

coincidences in verbs, with the other Indo-European languages, the Sclavonian most strangely presents a still greater dissimilarity in the declensions of its nouns. In philological investigations—in defining the nearer or remoter affinity of diverse idioms, the point to be considered is not whether external diversities exist in certain parts of their grammar, but whether these diversities cannot be reduced to general laws, and the concealed course be detected by which any language arrived at its actual anomalous state. Diversities cease to be such, so soon as the laws are discovered by which the changes in a language are regulated. Such a law Bopp conceives that he has discovered in Sclavonian, which will satisfactorily explain the diversity of its declension-type from that of its sister languages. It is this: that all original final consonants in *polysyllabic* words have disappeared; and the consonants which now stand at the end of nouns, are final consonants of a second generation only, which have been produced by the loss of the original termination. The necessary effect of such a law must have been to produce a kind of philological revolution, and to stamp the Sclavonian with a character of exclusive peculiarity in the flexion of its nouns. The establishment of the truth of this law solves an important problem in the history of languages. It is only in extreme cases that we can admit of mixed languages, in respect to grammatical inflexions; as these constitute the essential organization of a language; for it is unnatural that a language should borrow forms from different neighbours, and work up the materials into a motley compound. I have never yet seen the least reason for thinking, that completely new and peculiar inflexions have arisen in the later epochs of language. It is, therefore, of

consequence to have been able to show that the Sclavonian affords no exception, in this respect, to the fundamental principles of Philology; and that its grammar contains nothing which is strictly peculiar, or which must have been drawn from some other than a Sanskrit source. With respect to general history, also, since the genealogy and antiquities of nations can be learnt only from the sure testimony of languages themselves, it is of no small importance to have obtained the conviction, through the appliance of Philology, that, without any extensive corruption of the language from heterogeneous races, the Sclavonians, as well as the Greeks, Romans, Germans, Old Prussians, and Lithuanians, belonged to that original people of Asia, whose language has been most nearly preserved in Sanskrit and Zend. (*Bopp's Comp. Gram.* Preface to Part II.)

CHAPTER II.

ON THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGES.

Dialects of this inconsiderable but interesting family have been spoken from time immemorial in the countries round the south-east corner of the Baltic sea; and may be comprehended, in a general way, under the names Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian. Lithuanian Proper is the vernacular idiom of the ancient grand duchy of Lithuania: it has some curious points of connexion with the Greek, though under that peculiar form which distinguishes the Medo-European class of languages. Lettish is the dialect of the serfs in Livonia and Courland, and seems to hold an intermediate place; whilst Old Prussian, which was formerly spoken in Ducal or eastern Prussia, more nearly resembles the Latin. Vater, who is their great philologist and antiquarian, states, that "a people with this idiom (the Old Prussians) lived on the coast of the Baltic, between the Vistula, the Pregel, and the Memel. The chief seat of the language was in Samland, between the Pregel

and the western mouth of the Memel, in the Curische Haf; the most westerly districts in which it was spoken, were partly desolated, and partly occupied by German settlers; whilst the most southern provinces became united, either by force or by agreement, with the Lithuanians, and fought under their command against the German invaders[1]."

Each of these three idioms is marked by characteristic peculiarities; but there is a common similarity of language and customs, which unites the people that speak them in one family, and clearly distinguishes them from the German and Sclavonian races. From the extensive relations of Lithuania in the 14th century, its language has become the best known of the family; but the Old Prussian is of equal, if not greater, importance to the philologist and historian. Rurik, who founded the modern empire of Russia in the ninth century, is said by Russian authors to have come from Prussia (Arndt, p. 98); and I shall show, from a comparison of languages and customs, that the still more powerful Romans sprang from the same stock as these tribes, which at present occupy so insignificant a place in the European commonwealth.

About the 12th century, the Lithuanian name is introduced to our notice as that of a fierce and pagan nation, who were at constant war with the Poles; and who, in the year 1235, had established an independent government under the title of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. About this period, the Poles were compelled to call in the assistance of the Teutonic order—a religious and military society, which derived its origin from the crusades. Among the Old Prussian tribes, whom the German knights met with on

[1] Die Sprache der alten Preussen, pp. xiii. xxxi.

this occasion, we find the Galindæ and Sudeni, who are mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (lib. iii. 5. A.D. 150) among the Wends of this region. But the pagan Lithuanians maintained their ground against the enthusiasm and skill of these warrior priests; and Olgerd, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1340-1373), extended his command from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In 1386, Jagellon, by right of marriage, ascended the throne of Poland under the baptismal name of Vladislas, and brought his Lithuanian subjects to a nominal profession of Christianity; but even in the 16th century paganism was openly practised in whole districts of Lithuania, and to this day they preserve many relics of ancient heathen customs.

The Prussians, whom the German knights encountered between the Vistula and the Memel, in the 13th century, were divided into eleven tribes, who lived independently of each other, but made common cause against the public enemy. The Poles, having invaded Prussia, with a view to its conversion, were driven to the necessity of calling in the assistance of the Teutonic order for their own preservation. The German knights completed the subjugation of the various Prussian tribes in the north-west, and took possession of the country. Their government afterwards merged into the rising kingdom of Prussia, under Albert of Brandenburg, 1525. During this interval, the Germans had established their own language; and the Old Prussian dialect, even among the labouring class, has been long extinct.

The Swedes, Danes, and Russians, had previously held some slight intercourse with the sequestered people of Livonia and Courland; but it was not till the accidental arrival of the Germans, in the 12th century, that these

tribes excited any attention. A Bremish vessel, which sailed in 1158 for the isle of Gothland, was driven by a tempest into the gulf of Riga, near the mouth of the Duna. The immediate neighbourhood was inhabited by the Lives, a rude people, with whom the Germans began to traffic. Through this occurrence, the pagan state of the Lettons was noised abroad through Christendom. The spirit of the crusades was in operation; and, under the influence of this spirit, the Pope issued indulgences in favour of such as would engage in the meritorious work of converting the heathen (1198); and a crusade to Livonia, to bring the pagan Lettons within the Christian fold, was placed on a footing with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land [2].

On the arrival of the Germans in Livonia, the country was occupied by various kindred tribes,—the Lives, Lettons, Lettgalli, Semigalli, &c.; but the original inhabitants of all these districts belonged to an entirely different race, the Finns or Tchudes. The native name of the whole Finnish class is Same, or Suoma-laine, which signifies Fen people; and vestiges of this name, which survived long after the irruption of the Lettish tribes, bear testimony to a prior possession by Finns; and the Finnish names, Samogitia, Sameland, &c. are in some degree preserved to the present day. Thunmann has shown that some Finns remained in Eastern Prussia so late as the year 1259; and the Esthonians, who still border upon Livonia, are undoubted remains of a former Finnish population. They call themselves Esthes, and their land Esthi-ma; and are the descendants of the Æstii of Tacitus. That historian received accounts

[2] Essai Critique sur l'histoire de Livonie, vol. i. p. 93; Malte Brun, vol. vi. p. 512.

that the amber trade, in his time, was conducted solely by the Finnish Æstii: these may indeed, as labourers, have been employed in collecting it; but the profit and management of the trade had doubtless, long before, passed into the hands of the more enterprising Lettons and Prussians, as it was wrested from these in a later age by the more powerful Germans. His statement has induced some to believe that the Æstii were genuine Old Prussians; but his remark, that the language of the Æstii had a nearer affinity to the Celtic (Britannica) than to the Gothic (Suevica), is decisive of the question (Germania, c. 45); for the language of the Finns at the present day is more nearly allied to Celtic than to any other language, whilst the Old Prussian tongue, in its grammatical inflexions, bears a striking resemblance to the Old Gothic. Another point of distinction is, that the Æstii reputed the boar as sacred to their divinity (insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant); but it was the wolf that was held sacred among the Lettons and Romans. In addition, the modern Esthes or Esthonians, in the same neighbourhood, are unanimously allowed to belong to the Tchudic or Finnish race.

The sequestered situation of the Lettish tribes, and their unfrequent intercourse with more civilized nations, are among the causes of the preservation of their language, and of their primitive customs, to a late period. In the year 1613, a visitation of the churches in Livonia was held, the full particulars of which have reached us in the original Latin document, which is preserved in the archives of the town of Riga. It is there stated that more than half of the parishes, which are all of immense extent, were without a temple, and without a priest; and in the account of certain outlying parishes it is said, "In these districts, on the con-

fines of Russia, there exists hardly a single church. Immense tracts of forest are every where met with, in which the idolatrous Lettons live scattered and detached. They regard with reverence certain sacred trees, and assemble around them at stated periods. On solemn occasions, they sacrifice a black ox, a black cock, and finish with libations of beer. At the conclusion of the sacrifice, they eat, drink, and dance, in honour of their idols. Among their various objects of worship, they acknowledge one as the God of heaven, another as the God of the earth; and numberless subordinate deities are charged each with a particular province: the fishery, the fields, the gardens, have respectively their superintending divinities; the flocks, horses, and cows have each their tutelary god. The god of horses is denominated Usching [3]; that of cows, Moschel. Their offerings consist of cakes, moulded into forms of different animals, as dogs, serpents. That their dead may not be incommoded by hunger, they place at the head a piece of bread, and another is put in the hand as a sop for the dog who is chained at the gates of Paradise; a piece of money is added, to pay the ferryman for a passage over the gulf. In winter, a fagot is left on the grave, to comfort the soul of the departed." *Essai Critique*, vol. ii. p. 94. It is truly remarkable, that these duplicates of Charon and Cerberus, of Flora, Pomona, Bubona, Epona, &c. should have preserved their existence in Europe down to the 17th century.

Rask, in his "Icelandic Essay," and Vater, in his "Old Prussian Treatise," state, that "the Lettish (Old Prussian) is nearly related to Sclavonian and German: it resembles the German more in the forms of grammar, and the Scla-

[3] Compare Lith. aszwa, and Skr. ashwa, *a horse*.

vonian in the mass of its words." (Vater, p. 26.) This singular characteristic, which is peculiar to Old Prussian and Latin, may serve to throw some light on the origin of the Romans. The great similarity between some of the Gothic and Latin inflexions has induced a belief that the Goths must have constituted a portion at least of the earliest inhabitants of Italy. Yet no historical trace can be discovered of any such settlement; and I am inclined to believe that they had no concern whatever with the Roman empire, except in its decline and fall; and that they did not pass to the south of the Carpathian range, till within a comparatively recent period. Professor Jakel, who has written a treatise expressly to show "The German Origin of the Latin Language and Roman People," is reduced to mere conjecture. "Hence we may assume (says he), that at a very early period—perhaps 2000 years before the Christian era—German tribes issued from Asia, and wandered towards the west; they probably dwelt a long time on the north of the Danube, till an increased population induced one swarm to migrate northward into Sweden, and a second portion to turn towards the south. This latter tribe crossed the Danube and the Alps, and so passed into genial and fruitful Italy, which it never again left. I grant (he adds) that history says nothing on the point; but it is also silent on the peopling of Scandinavia through a German race, which yet no one denies" (p. 9).

Now, as a connexion between the Prussian Cures on the Curische Haf, and the Romans, can still be pointed out historically, and the affinity between Old Prussian and Latin is just as striking on other points, I am inclined to think that the Gothic portion, also, of Latin was introduced into Italy by Old Prussian tribes, without the intervention

of any Gothic settlers. From the name of the two people, the affinity of their languages, and the perfect identity of many of their customs, I am led to the conviction that the Sabines were of Prussian origin, and formed that part of the Roman people which introduced the peculiarities of the Lettish language and customs. The Lithuanians and Old Prussians hold a distinct and independent place among nations and languages; but they are more nearly related to the Sclavonians and Wends than to any other people. Thus the Prussian Sabines might easily coalesce with the Sclavonian Wends and the Medo-Grecians; whilst it is almost inconceivable that the Goths, of a totally distinct race, should force the grammar of their language upon Latin tribes who retained their Sclavonian vocabulary. The Prussian descent of the Sabines will be more conveniently discussed when I come to treat of the Italian tribes (Part iii. c. 4). I shall here merely allude to the traffic in amber, which, from the remotest times, has formed a ground of connexion between the Baltic and Adriatic.

The Prussians and Cures, when first brought into notice, occupied the shores of the Baltic, from the Vistula to the Duna. Although amber, the natural production of this coast, was so eagerly sought after from the remotest times, and exercised the poetical genius of classical antiquity in the legend of Eridanus and the Heliades, yet the people themselves, who supplied the precious substance, escaped observation; and their early history remains yet to be deciphered by the philologist and antiquarian. In Prussia, amber is not confined to the sea-coast: it is also dug up in places from which the sea has retired; for the Baltic, or at least its marshy flats, in the first ages, extended much farther to the south. Tacitus says, that the Æstii collected

amber among the shallows, as well as on the shore itself (succinum inter vada Suevici maris atque in ipso littore legunt). These shallows have been much filled up in the course of time, and are now confined to the Frische and Curische Haf. "Two lakes, the Frische Haf and Curische Haf, may be considered the most remarkable phenomena in the physical geography of Prussia. They cannot be strictly termed gulfs or bays, for the water is fresh; nor lakes, for they have a direct communication with the Baltic by navigable straits. The Curische Haf is not less than sixty-six miles in length; and its breadth varies from fifteen to thirty. The Curische Nerung[4]—the strip of land which divides it from the open sea—is narrower but more elevated than that which confines the Frische Haf. Frische Haf signifies 'fresh-water bay;' the Curische Haf is so called from the ancient Cures, who inhabited its banks." *Malte Brun.*

In the most ancient times, amber was brought from a river Eridanus in this locality, to the river Po on the Adriatic, where it found an outlet to distant nations, Greece, Phenicia, &c. If the name Eridanus ever actually belonged to the river Po, it was certainly brought from the north; but it may have arisen from the confused notion of foreigners, who knew that amber came in the first instance from *a* river Eridanus; and as they could trace its origin no further back than to the mouth of the Po, they may at their distance have transferred the name of the true amber-bearing Eridanus to the river best known to themselves.

[4] I offer the conjecture, that the word *nerung* is equivalent to our 'break-water,' and that it is derived from the Sabine (or Old Prussian) term *neriene*, strength, bravery; *nero*, a strong or brave man. See the chapter on the Sabines.

The account given by Herodotus makes this subject quite clear: "I cannot believe," says he, "that there is a river, by the barbarians named Eridanus, which flows into the northern sea, and from which, by all accounts, our amber comes; for, in the first place, with respect to the name, the form Eridanus proves that it is no barbarian term, but a good Greek word, probably invented by some poet; and, in the next place, with respect to the northern sea, I could never meet with any one who would vouch from personal knowledge that there is a sea in that part of Europe; it is certain, however, that our amber comes from those remote regions" (iii. 115). We are deeply indebted to Herodotus for this notice; but we may be allowed to give as little credit to his derivation of the word Eridanus, as to his doubts concerning the existence of the Baltic. The name Eridanus is of Pelasgian origin, and was probably as much altered from its original form by the classical Greeks, as the Greek Euphrates varies from the eastern Phrat. Some writers, however, think that the word Eridanus contains the element *don*, which signifies *water* among the Caucasian Ossetes, and enters so often into the names of rivers in the east of Europe: Don, Donaets, Donau (Danube), Dnieper, Dniester, Duna; and it has been suggested that the classical Eridanus is now represented by the modern Radaune, which joins the Vistula near Dantzic, and on the banks of which amber is still plentifully found[5].

To judge correctly of the Old Prussian idiom, we ought to possess compositions in it of an age previous to the German conquest in the thirteenth century; from which period it began to be corrupted by the introduction of Ger-

[5] Arndt, p. 117, 174. Ritter, p. 304.

manisms. But the language contains no literature of that kind as far as we are acquainted with it; indeed, the only known records are one or two translations of catechisms made from the German in the middle of the sixteenth century. At that period the natives had long been subject to German influence, and the German style of course predominates in the translations. These documents are fortunately of a nature to contain many ideas relating to common life; so that we possess a tolerably extensive vocabulary of Old Prussian words; but we can no more judge of its peculiar idioms and distinctive character from these translations, than we could form a correct opinion of the classical languages from the Vulgate and Septuagint versions of the Scriptures, which are full of Hebraisms.

The use of the demonstrative pronoun stas, stai, sta, to supply the want of the definite article[6], whilst the corresponding word tas in Lithuanian and Lettish is not so used, is, I conceive, rightly attributed by Vater (p. 86) entirely to the effects of German influence. We have an exactly parallel case in a few Sclavonian dialects: the Sclavonian idioms, as I have already observed in the last chapter, resemble the Latin in possessing no article; yet Schaffarik states (p. 35) that a few Germanising dialects, or, to speak more correctly, some Germanist writers in Lusatia, Carniola, and Styria, supply the place of the article by the demonstrative pronoun Ten, ta, to: Ta, ta, to.

The Old Prussian, like the Sclavonian, Lithuanian, and Lettish, possesses no *f*, but supplies its place by the whizzing sound *sv* already mentioned; and, like the Latin,

[6] In Greek and German, the demonstrative pronoun has taken the place of the article, which is foreign to Skr. and Z., as also to Lat., Lith., and Sclavonian.—Bopp, p. 489.

it has no *z*. In parts of its grammar it shows marks of great philological antiquity. In the former chapter I stated from Bopp, that Sclavonian was the only language which retained in common use the full termination si of the second person singular; but it is remarkable enough that the second person, under the forms se, sei, si, is the only inflexion in the singular number of Prussian verbs: e. g. giva, *I live*; givassi, *thou livest*; giva, *he liveth*. Also, in the termination smu of the dative case singular in all pronouns of the third person, it resembles the older languages: Skr. ka-smai, *to whom*; Z. ka-hmai; O. Pr. ka-smu; Goth. hva-mma: Skr. ta-smai, *to him*; O. Pr. tenne-smu; Goth. tha-mma. Some original forms of verbal inflexions in Old Prussian have been preserved unaltered in the so-called irregular verbs: eisei, *thou goest*; eit, *he goeth*: dase, *thou givest*; dast, *he giveth*[7]. The verb substantive is thus conjugated: asmau, assei, ast, pl. asmai, astai, ast; infin. bout, *to be*.

I shall dismiss the Old Prussians for the present with some specimens of their interesting, but little known language, taken from the translations of the German catechisms already mentioned; and in order to render them more intelligible, I shall prefix two or three of the most common grammatical forms.

	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	wyrs, *a man*	wyrai	genna, *woman*	gennai
Gen.	wyras	——	gennas	——
Dat. Acc.	wyran	wirins / wyrimans	gennan	gennamans / gennans
Voc.	wyre	wyrai	genna	——

[7] Compare the present tense of the verb *to give* in the kindred languages, Part I. ch. iv., sub fin. Lith. eimi (eo); Skr. emi; Gr. εἶμι.

	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	as, *I*	mes, *we*	tu, *thou*	jous, *you*
Gen.	maisei	——	twaise	——
Dat.	mennei	noumans	tebbei	joumans
Acc.	mien	mans	tien	wans

Demonstrative pronoun used as the definite article:

	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	stas	stai	1. druwe, *I believe*	druwemai, *we believe*
Gen.	stessei	steisons		
Dat.	stesmu	steimans	2. druwese	druwetei
Acc.	stan	stans	3. druwe	druwe

The infinitive mood ends in -t, -ton, or -twei: the participle active ends in -ns, the passive in -ts.

Thou not shalt other gods beside me have.
Tou ni turri kittans Deiwans pagar mien turritwei.

What is this said? Answer.
Ka ast sta billiton? Ettrais.

We should God the Lord above all
Mes turrimai Deiwan stan Rikyan kirscha wissan

thing fear and love have, and him
powystin biatwei bhe mylan turit, bhe stesmu

trust.
auschauditwei.

I believe in God, Father all-mighty, who is
As druwe en Deiwan, Tawan wisse-musingin, kas ast

creator of heaven and earth.
teikuuns dangon bhe semmien.

What is this said?
Ka ast sta billiton?

I believe that me God created has, with all
As druwe kai mien Deiws teikuuns ast, sen wissans

creatures: to me a body and soul, eyes, ears,
pergimmans: mennei kermenan bhe dusin, ackins, ausins

and all members, reason, and all senses
bhe wissans streipstans, isspressennien, bhe wissans seilins

given has, and still preserves; that to this, clothes and
dauns ast, bhe dabber islai; ka prei stan, rukans bhe

shoes, eating and drinking, house and yard, wife
kurpins, ist bhe puton, buttan bhe burwalkan, gennan

and children, land, cattle, and all goods, with
bhe malnykans, laukan, pecku, bhe wissans labbans, sen

all needs and nourishment of this body
wissan preweringiskan bhe maitasnan schieise kermenes

and life, richly and daily provides, and
bhe giwas, laimiskai bhe deineniskai persurgawi, bhe

against all evil protects and defends: and this
pryki wissan wargan pokunti bhe popeckuwi: bhe stan

all from pure, fatherly, divine goodness
wissan is kalsiwingiskan, tawiskan, deiwutiskan labbiskan

and grace, without any my merit and
bhe etnistin, schlait wissan maian perschlusisnan bhe

worth; for which all I to him to thank
wertingiskan; per kawidan wissan as steismu prei dinkaut

and to praise, and for this to serve and
bhe prei girtwei, bhe per stan prei schlusitwei bhe

obedient to be owing am: this is truly
poklusman bout schkellants asmai: sta ast perarwisku

true.
arwi.

Pater noster, who thou art in heaven.
Tawa nouson, kas tu assei en dangon.

God wills with such us to call, that we
Deiws quoi sen stawidsmu mans wackitwei, kai mes

believe should, he is our proper father, and we
druwit turrimai, tans ast nouson tickars tawas, bhe mes

his proper children: for this, that we boldly
tenneison tickrai malnykai: no stan, kai mes glandewingei

and with all confidence him pray should, as
bhe sen wissan auschaudisnan tennan madlit turrimai, kaigi

the dear children their dear father.
stai mylai malnykai swaian mylan tawan.

What sins should one confess?
Kawidans grikans turedi grikaut?

Before God one should of all sins oneself guilty
Pirs dau Deiwan turridi wissans grikans sien skellants

allow, also those of which we even not are conscious,
datunsi, digi stans kans mes digi ni ersinnimai,

as we in Pater noster do. But before
kaigi mes en Tawa nouson seggemai. Adder pirsdau

the Confessor should we alone the
stesmu Klausiwingin turrimai mes terains stans

sins avow which we know and
grykans posinnat kawydans mes waidimai bhe

feel in our heart. Which are
poprestemmai en nouson syran. Kawidai ast

they?
stai?

Then inspect thy condition by the
Stwi endiris twaian bausennien po steimans

ten commandments, whether thou father, mother,
dessimtons pallaipsans, anga tu taws, muti,

son, daughter, master, mistress, servant art, whether thou
souns, duckti, rikys, supuni, waix assei, anga tou

not obedient not true not diligent hast
ni poklusmings ni isarwis ni seilewingis assei

been; whether thou to any one evil hast done
bouuns; anga tou ainontsmu wargan assei seggiuns

with words or deeds; whether thou stolen
sen wirdemmans adder dilins; anga tu ranguns

lost neglected skaith hast done.
pertenniums ni pokuntuns schkudan assei seggiuns.

In the morning, when thou out thy bed
Angstainai, kaden tou is twaiasmu lastin

risest, shouldst thou thee bless with the holy
etskisai, turri tou tien siggnat sen stesmu swintan

cross and say: So help God, Father, Son, and
scrisin bhe billit: Stwi galbse Deiws, Taws, Souns, bhe

Holy Ghost!
Swints Noseilis!

After that, kneeling or standing, the Creed
No stan, poquelbton adder stanintei, stan Druwien

and Pater noster; wilt thou, so mayst thou this
bhe Tawa nouson; iquoi tu, tit massi tu schin

prayer to that say: I thank thee, my
madlikan prei stan gerbt: As dinckama tebbei, mais

heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ thy dear
dengnennissis Taws, pra Jesum Christum twaian milan

Son, that thou me this night against all
Sounan, kai tu mien schen naktin pirsdau wissan

harm and evil hast protected; and I pray thee
skudan bhe wargan assei pokuntuns; bhe madli tien

thou wouldst me this day also protect against
tou quoitilaisi mien schan deinan deigi pokunst pirsdau

sin and all evil, that thee all my action and
grikan bhe wissan wargan, kai tebbei wissa maia segisna bhe

life please; for I commit me, my body
giwan podingai; beggi as polaipinna mien, maian kermenen

and soul, and all into thy hands; thy
bhe dousin, bhe wissan en twaians rankans; twais

holy angel be with me, that the evil fiend
swints engels bausei sen maim, kai stas wargs preisiks

not a power over me gain.
ni ainan warrin en mien aupallai. Amen.

And after so, with joy to thy
Bhe pansdau titet, sen wesliskan prei twaian

work be gone, and a chant having sung as
dilan gubas, bhe ainan grimikan grimons kaigi

the ten commandments, or what thy thought
stans dessimtons pallaipsans, adder ka twaia seilisku

supplieth.
dast.

The children and servants should with folded
Stai malnykai bhe seimins turri sen senditmai

hands and orderly before the table to step and
rankan bhe kanxtei pirsdau stan stallan trapt bhe

say: All eyes wait on thee, O Lord, and thou givest
billit: Wissas ackis gieidi no tien, Rikys, bhe tu dase

them their food in its season; thou
steimans tenneison landan prei swaian kerdan; tou

openest thy hand and satisfiest all which there
etwera twaian rankan bhe satuinei wissan ka stwi

liveth with (their) desire.
giwe sen labba podingausnan.

Then the Pater noster and this following
Pansdau stan Tawa nouson bhe schan ripintinton

prayer:
madlin:

O God, Lord, heavenly Father, bless us and
O Deiwe, Rikys, dengnennis Taws, signats mans bhe

these thy gifts which we of thy
schiens twaians daians kawidans mes esse twaian

tender goodness to us take through Jesus
deigiskan labban prei mans immimai pra Jesum

Christ our Lord.
Christum nouson Rikyan. Amen.

So also after eating should they likewise do,
Tit dygi po idin turri stai ainawidisku siggit,

orderly with com-posed hands stand and say:
kanxtai sen sen-ditans rankans stallit bhe billitwei:

Thank the Lord, for he is kind, and
Dinkauti stesmu Rikyan, beggi tans ast ginnewings, bhe

his goodness endureth for ever; who to all
swaia labbisku weraui en prabutskan; kas wismu

flesh food giveth, who to the cattle its fodder
mensen landan dast, kas stesmu pecku swaian perdin

giveth, to the young ravens which him invoke.
dast, steimans maldans warnins quai tennen enwacke.

He not has pleasure in the strength of the
Tans ni turri podingan en stessei spartisku steisei

horse, nor delight in any one's legs; the
russas, neggi podingausnan no ainontsi kaulan; stas

Lord hath pleasure in those who him fear, and
Rikys turri podingan en steimans quoi tennan bia, bhe

who on his goodness wait.
quai no swaian labiskan geide.

Ye children be obedient to your elders
Ious malnykai seiti poklusmingi iousmu vraisin

in the Lord, for this is right. Honour father
en Rikyan, beggi sta ast preistalliwingi. Smuninais tawan

and mother; this is the first commandment which
bhe mutien; sta ast stas pirmonnis pallaips kawyds

a promise has, namely, that to thee well
potaukisnan turei, isprettingi, kai tebbei labban

it go, and long thou live on earth.
eit, bhe ilga giwasi no semmien.

Hearken to your teachers, and follow
Klausieiti iousons mukinnewins, bhe ripaiti

them, for they watch over your soul,
tenneimans, beggi tennei bude kirscha iousan dusin,

as who there account for it to give have:
kai quai stwi reckenausnan per stan dat turri:

in order that they it with joy do, and
no stan kai tennei stan sen tuldisnan segge, bhe

not with grief, for this to you not is
ni sen nadewisin, beggi sta ioumas ni ast

good.
labban.

Thus spake God to the woman: I will to thee
Tit billa Deiws prei gennan: as quoi tebbe

great sorrow make when thou pregnant
toulan gulsennin teickut kan tou senbrendekermnen

art: thou shalt with sorrow children
postasei: tu turri sen gulsennien malnykans

bear: and thy desire shall to thy husband
gemton: bhe twais quaits turri twaiasmu wyran

subject be, and he shall thy lord
pomests bauton, bhe tans turri twais rikys

be. And to the man spake God: because
bout. Bhe prei wiran billa Deiws: stankisman

that thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy
kai tou assai klausiuns stesmu tarin twaiasei

wife, and eaten of the tree, of which
gennan, bhe iduns esse stesmu garrin, esse kawidsmu

I to thee commanded and said, thou not shalt of
as tebbei laipinna bhe billai, tu ni turri esse

it eat, Cursed be the ground for thy
stesmu ist, Perklantits bouse stas laucks twaise

sake: with trouble shalt thou thee on
paggan: sen alkinisquai turei tou tien no

it support so long thou livest: thorns and
stan pomaitat ku ilgimai giwassi: kaaubri bhe

thistles shall it to thee produce, and thou shalt the
strigli turrei tans tebbei pyst, bhe turrei stan

herb on the ground eat; in the sweat of thy
salin no stan laukan istwei; en prakaisnan twaise

face shalt thou thy bread eat, so long till
prosnan turri tu twaian geitin istwei, stu ilgimi kai

thou again to earth become, from which
tu etkumps prei semman postasei, esse kawidsmu

thou taken wast: for thou art earth (and shalt
tou animts assai: beggi tou asse semme bhe turei

to earth become.
prei semmien postatwei.

Thus it stands written: God created the man
Titet stalli peisaton: Deiws teiku stan smunentin

to him self in likeness: yea to likeness
sebbei supsmu en prusnanpoligon: ia prei prusnaspoligun

of God created he him; he created them a
Deiwas teiku tans tennan; tans teiku tennans ainan

man and woman, and God blessed them
wyrikan bhe gannikan, bhe Deiws signai tennans

and said to them: Be fruitful and multiply
bhe billats prei dins: Seiti weysewingi bhe tulninaiti

you and replenish the earth, and make to you
wans bhe erpilninaiti stan semmien, bhe tickinnaiti ioumas

the same subjected; and rule over fish
stan subban pomettewingi; bhe rikauite kirsa suckans

in sea, over the fowls under heaven, and
en iurin, kirsa stans pippalins po dangon, bhe

over all beasts which on earth creep; and
kirsa wissans swirins kas no semmien lise; bhe

God looked on all which he had created, and
Deiws endeira wissan kan tans bei teikuuns, bhe

look there, it was all very good.
dereis stwi, sta bei wissan sparts labban.

God give you his peace.
Deiws dase ioumas swaian packun. Amen.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE GERMAN LANGUAGES.

The German family of dialects is divided into two great classes, the Upper and Lower, which are distinguished by the character of their pronunciation, by their relation to different families of languages, and by their local situation. The Upper German is known by its hissing, guttural, and harsh sounds; is spoken in the mountainous regions of the south; and is related to Greek and Persian—whilst the Lower German is more nearly allied to Latin and Sanskrit; is the language of the lower districts in the north; and is characterised by a soft pronunciation, and a dislike to all harsh combinations of sounds.

The following vow of an Old Low Saxon warrior to devote all his captives in sacrifice to Wodan, exemplifies most of the leading distinctions between the Upper and Lower dialects [1]:—

[1] Quoted in Meidinger's Deutschen Volkstamme, p. 210.

Low Germ. { Hilli krotti Wondana! Ik slakte
{ Holy great Wodan! I slay
High Germ.—Heilig grosser Wodan! Ich schlachte

{ ti all Fanka up tinen illiken Artesberka.
{ to thee all captives upon thine holy Asburg.
dir alle gefangene auf deinem heiligen Artesberg.

The Lower German division of this family comprises (1) the Old Gothic; (2) the Scandinavian, consisting of Danish, Swedish, Icelandic; (3) the Low German with its various dialects, the Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, &c. Concerning the relation of these idioms to other families of languages, native writers have made the following observations. "When I am reading the Gothic of Ulphilas (says Bopp), I could fancy I had Sanskrit before me:" and Fr. Schlegel remarks that "Low German has principally preserved the Sanskrit forms." Arndt states that "the words, which are common to Latin and Sclavonian with German, belong far more to the Lower than to the Upper German dialects." This whole class of the Lower German dialects I have called the Medo-German, as already explained, in contradistinction to the Upper German dialects, which constitute, in the same nomenclature, the Perso-German division. These terms are very convenient, when used in relation to the whole Indo-European class; but in discussing the German family exclusively of the rest, the Germans may prefer more local and national names, and I would suggest the use of the terms Gothic and Teutonic. The Goths of Odin were among the earliest Low German settlers in Europe; and Teutones may be very suitably applied to the Upper Germans, on account of its similarity to the High Ger-

man national name Teutsche, as contrasted with the Low German Deutsche.

A review of the various German idioms has brought Arndt to the following conclusions:—For very many ages there have existed in Europe two remarkably different German languages, which, for general purposes, may very well be distinguished by the name of the soft and the hard dialects of Germany. The former appears to have spread at a much earlier period, and to a much greater extent into this quarter of the globe, as may be inferred from the situation of the countries in which, to the present day, the Low German and the other soft German dialects prevail. It is reasonable to suppose that this soft dialect had long been native in ancient Germany, and still longer had been in possession of the German north and the banks of the Rhine, when the hard dialect broke in from the east, and dispossessed the Old German idioms (p. 106). This soft dialect evidently reached its present position from the Black Sea; the hard or later German probably entered Europe by Thrace.

That the Lower and Upper dialects of German were originally distinct, and preserved their peculiar characteristics throughout the different stages of their culture, will appear more plainly from the following table, in which the Gothic or Old Low German words vary from the Teutonic or Old High German in the same points, in which the modern Low German words differ from the New High German. In the table, Gothic is placed first, not because it is the oldest, but because the records preserved in it are of greater antiquity than those existing in any other Low German dialect.

	Gothic or Old Low Germ.	Modern Low Germ.	Teutonic or Old High Germ.	New High Germ.
Daughter	dauhtar	dochter	tohtar	tochter
door	daur	dor	tor	thur
day	dags	dag	tac	tag
dale	dals	dal	tal	thal
dove	dubo	due	touba	taube
people	laudeis	leod	liuti	leute
foot	fotus	fot	vuoz	fuss
heart	hairto	heort	herza	herz
tear	tagr	taare	zahar	zahre
ten	taihun	tehn	zehan	zehn
tooth	thuntus	tain	zand	zahn
water	vato	waeter	wazar	wasser
to eat	etan	eten	ezzan	essen
to call	haitan	heiten	heizan	heissen
to mete	mitan	meten	mezan	messen
to dip	daupjan	deofan	toufjan	taufen
to drink	drinkan	drinken	trinchan	trinken
to sleep	slepan	slapen	slafan	schlafen
to do	doan	doen	tuon	thun
a deed	deds	dœd	tat	that

For an illustration of the last words *doan*, *tuon*, see Bopp's "Vocalismus," p. 75, and Pott, vol. i. p. 187.

According to Grimm's law, where the older languages use a medial, a tenuis should be found in the corresponding Gothic word, e. g. Lat. decem, Goth. taihun; but in the above list, and in the examples given, Part I. ch. iii., will be found many instances in which the Gothic retains the medial of the older languages; to this extent, therefore, the Gothic,

with the Low German dialects, must rank among the Medo-European languages, though its own peculiar law of using tenues for the older medials determines it to be the youngest member of that class.

There seems to exist a curious relation between Greek and Gothic or Low German, with respect to medials, which I will now state, though I am not able to account for it. Of the two parts into which I have divided Greek[2], the Medo-Grecian portion is distinguished in the use of its medials from the Perso-Grecian. The Gothic analogues of Medo-Grecian words follow their own peculiar law in substituting tenues for medials, and are proper Gothic; whilst the Gothic analogues of Perso-Grecian words retain the medial, and are Medo-Gothic. This observed fact holds sufficiently to constitute a law, which might lead to important historical conclusions, if it could be fully explained and translated out of its philological terms, like the result of a mathematical calculation from its algebraical symbols.

EXAMPLES.

Medo-Grecian.	Goth. Proper.	Perso-Grecian.	Medo-Gothic.
υδωρ	vato	θυγατηρ	dauhtar
δεξιος	taihsvo	θυρα	daur
ποδες	fotus	ο-φρυς	bra
αγρος	akrs	νεφελη	nibl
γονυ	kniu	χην	gans
μεγαλος	mikils	χθες	gistra

Pott remarks that the small number of Sanskrit roots beginning or ending with the medial *b*, is very surprising; with which fact appears to be connected the lack of genuine

[2] See Part I. ch. iii. note 4.

German words beginning in Gothic with a corresponding *p*, and in High German with *f*. The few Sanskrit roots with *b* retain the older medial in Gothic, and Grimm's law is not valid in this case. Vol. i. p. 110. This statement will account for my not producing examples of the Medo-Grecian *b*, and corresponding Gothic *p*.

Gothic.—Among the earliest authors who mention the Goths is Pytheas (in Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 11), who, in the fourth century, B.C. made a voyage of discovery to the north. On the amber coast he found the Guttones, a German tribe; and in their neighbourhood, the island of Abalus or Baltia. There can be little doubt but that the terms Guttones and Baltia are related to the names, Goths and Baltic, which still exist in those regions; and Abalus may possibly be the present Abo. The Goths of the coast, it is said, sold the amber to the nearest Teutons; these Teutons were evidently an inland tribe of a different race, and belonged, probably, to that class which spoke the harsh or Upper German in the mountainous districts of the interior.

Tacitus had heard, though he received the account with incredulity, that Ulysses, in the course of his long and romantic wanderings, reached Germany, and built a city on the Rhine, which he named Ασκιπυργιον, Asciburgium (Germ. c. 3). This fable is generally supposed to have arisen from some confused account of the migration of the elder Odin and his Asæ from the east; for the Scandinavian legends relate that Odin came out of Asia on a far journey to the north: that he first settled in Saxony, and from thence passed over into Sweden, where he introduced the arts of civilization, and established law and religion on a firmer basis; on which account he was revered during life,

and worshipped after death. His attendants were the forefathers of the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians (Snorro Sturleson in Ynglinga Saga, c. 2—10). Now a wandering hero is a common character in the early history of many nations; and by the ancients such a personage, wherever found, was always identified with their own Hercules or Ulysses, according to circumstances. In the present case, if Odin was the name actually mentioned, it would at once suggest to Roman or Grecian ears the name and adventures of their own Odysseus; and that idea would be confirmed by the subsequent mention of inscriptions in Greek characters, which were said to exist in the same neighbourhood [3].

According to Strabo (lib xi.), on the eastern side of the Palus Mæotis, near the Bosphorus, lived the considerable tribe of the Ασπουργιανοι (Asburgiani, Asa-burger: Asgard, Asof); and in the oldest times the whole eastern coast, from the Bosphorus to the Tanais (Strabo vii. and xi.), was called Asia, in a limited and peculiar sense, which Ritter states is "holy land" or Asa-land of the companions of Odin. As, Asæ, was the name of the heroic and sacred race which accompanied Odin to Scandinavia from the East; and Midum-heime (Meder-heimath or Medes-home) was the name given by the western emigrants to Asa-land, or Asaheimur, the country which they left. Such is the account of Ritter (Vorhalle, pp. 300. 472), who adds: Casaubon, in his note on the passage of Strabo referred to, says, that this district on the Palus Mæotis seems "Asiæ nomen ut proprium sibi vindicasse;" and Berkelius, in his edition of Stephanus Byzant. (p. 184), states, that "this Asia, from Indice to the Tanais, cannot refer either to Asia

[3] See Fr. Schlegel's History of Literature, Lecture vi.

Major or Asia Minor, but must itself constitute an Asia Propria, from which those Aspurgiani derived their name, as occupiers of the citadel" (πυργος, i. e. arx).

The Asa-land, and As-gard or Askerta of Scandinavia, and the Asci-burgium of Saxon Odin on the Rhine, certainly derived their name from the Asburgiani (Asaburger, people of Asof or As-hof), in the district called Asa-land or Asia on the Tanais. But the very existence of Asgard in "Asiatic Sarmatia" has been called in question, in consequence of the poetical form in which the history of the Goths, who conquered Rome, has been moulded by subsequent authors; and the earthly city of Asgard, the capital of the Asæ, has been resolved into the mystic abode of the gods, the Olympus of Scandinavia; whence the prophet was supposed to descend when he announced his new religion to the Gothic nations.

The native and proper habitation of Odin, says the historian Gibbon, is distinguished by the appellation of Asgard. The happy resemblance of that name with Asburg or Asof, words of a similar signification, has given rise to an historical system of so pleasing a contexture, that we could almost wish to persuade ourselves of its truth. It is supposed that Odin was the chief of a tribe of barbarians which dwelt on the banks of the lake Mæotis, till the fall of Mithridates, and the arms of Pompey menaced the north with servitude: that Odin, yielding with indignant fury to a power which he was unable to resist, conducted his tribe from the frontiers of the Asiatic Sarmatia into Sweden, with the great design of forming, in that inaccessible retreat of freedom, a religion and a people, which, in some remote age, might be subservient to his immortal revenge; when his invincible Goths, armed with martial fanaticism, should

issue in numerous swarms from the neighbourhood of the polar circle, to chastise the oppressors of mankind. This wonderful expedition of Odin, observes the historian, by deducing the enmity of the Goths and Romans from so memorable a cause, might supply the noble groundwork of an epic poem, but cannot safely be received as authentic history. According to the obvious sense of the Edda, and the interpretation of the most skilful critics, Asgard, instead of denoting a real city of the Asiatic Sarmatia, is the fictitious appellation of the mystic abode of the gods, the Olympus of Scandinavia; from whence the prophet was supposed to descend when he announced his new religion to the Gothic nations, who were already seated in the southern parts of Sweden (ch. x.).

It might add something to the propriety of this subject for an epic poem, as pointed out by Gibbon, to observe that the Goths and Romans belonged to distinct families of nations. It is, indeed, the common opinion, that the Goths constituted a very early part of the population of Italy, and contributed their full share to the formation of the Latin language; but, by Grimm's law, we have seen that the Goths are the youngest member of the Medo-European family; and consequently, that Italy may have been fully stocked with Sclavonians and Old Prussians before the Goths entered Europe. In the Mithridatic war, the Romans under Pompey probably came in contact with these people; but it was the earliest and only meeting of the two races till the decline and fall of the Roman empire, when the Goths effectually broke the Roman power and sacked the capitol. Gibbon, though discrediting the poetical history of Odin's revenge, yet brings these conquerors from the Baltic. He says, " In the age of the Antonines, the

Goths were still seated in Prussia; about the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had already experienced their proximity by frequent and destructive inroads: in this interval, therefore, of about seventy years, we must place the second migration of the Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine" (ch. x.). But the Scandinavian Goths at a very early period, and subsequently the Mæso-Goths after a very long interval, issued independently from the shores of the Euxine, as the mother country or hive of all the Lower German tribes: the use of the prefix *ge*, *ga*, by the Mæso-Goths, sufficiently characterises them as an independent and distinct tribe from the Scandinavians, in whose dialects it does not occur.

The Crimea, which lies on the west side of the Bosphorus, and opposite the southern territory of the Medo-German Asburgiani, would afford a ready road for the movements of this people, and must have been indebted to them for a portion of its inhabitants. The first Goths that poured into the north-west of Europe may have started either from the Crimea, or from the neighbourhood of Asof; and these places, after the unavoidable revolutions in a course of ages, still retain marks of their ancient Gothic inhabitants.

A late notice of Gothic vestiges in the Crimea is afforded by Vater, in Adelung's Mithridates: "Archbishop Sestrenwitsch, who has long resided in the Crimea, and has published a history of the country, informs me that in the southern extremity of the Crimea, and in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol—that is, in places shown by history to have been inhabited by the Goths—are some small towns in which the Tartars speak a provincial dialect similar to Low German: I have myself heard it in Mangut: they have adopted the Mahommedan religion and the Tartar

mode of life." Earlier notices of a Gothic race in this part of the world are afforded by Rubriquius, who visited Tartary in the thirteenth century; by Josaphat Barbarus, Venetian ambassador to Asof, in the fifteenth century; and by Busbequius, King Ferdinand's ambassador to Constantinople, in the sixteenth century: these severally agree in their testimony, that vestiges of the Gothic language are found in the Crimea and neighbourhood. Busbequius in particular gives a list of words in the native language, which strongly resemble the Dutch, English, and other Low German dialects (Dorn, p. 65).

Scandinavian.—But it is in Scandinavia, the country of Odin himself, that we meet with the plainest traces of the Goths. From its remote and detached situation, it has retained many of the ancient names, East and West Gothland, Isle of Gothland, Gottenburg; and has best preserved the original character of the pure olden tongue. The Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, can only be considered as modern kindred dialects of the ancient Gothic of Odin, respectively modified a little by the fluctuations to which living languages are always exposed. The closer affinity of the Scandinavian than of the High German dialects, to Latin, is thus accounted for by Jakel, p. 158. In the case of single words, as also of grammatical inflexions, we have already seen what a great resemblance exists between Latin and Gothic; from which it follows that one, at least, of the early Italian tribes must have been of Gothic origin. Hence we may explain the circumstance of many Latin roots occurring in the Scandinavian dialects, which are not found in High German: the following are examples:—

Scandin.	Latin.	High Germ.
sool	sol	sonne
vaar	ver	fruhling
ratika	radix	wurzel
oek	equus	pferd
loper	lepus	hase
soemn	somnus	schlaf
sen	senex	alt
lage	leges	gesetze

In another passage the same author says: In German etymology we must consider only the root, and not the prefix or affix. Thus our prefix *ge* is lost in many German dialects, and in the Scandinavian and English languages: in Swedish and Danish *ge-sund* is *sund* (sound); *ge-walt*, *vaelda* (valid). The prefix is sometimes so amalgamated with the root as hardly to be detected: *glied* (member) for *ge-lied;* Swed. *lit: gnade*, Dan. *naade: gluck*, Frisian *lock*, Low Saxon and English, *luck* (p. 34). In the warrior's vow in Old Low Saxon, *fanka* occurs for *ge-fangene.* As these exceptions all belong to the Lower or Medo-German division, I infer that a general use of the prefix is characteristic of Upper or Perso-German. It occurs, however, in Anglo-Saxon and Gothic; which circumstance seems to show that the Angles were a German family quite distinct from the Low Saxons, and the Mæso-Goths from the Scandinavians. The Gothic version of Ulphilas may be the oldest existing memorial of the Medo-German language; but we know from history that the Goths of Odin in Saxony, Denmark, and Sweden, must have been anterior to the Goths of Ulphilas in the fourth century, A.D.

Low German.—This class consists of the Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Dutch, Flemish, &c. Of the Low German dialects now spoken, the Dutch can fairly lay claim to the chief place, as it has become a cultivated language, and possesses an extensive literature (Arndt, p. 105); but the Anglo-Saxon, under a modified form, has been developed into the present English, which need not fear a comparison with any existing language, either for the extent of territory in which it prevails, or for the importance of the literature which it contains. When first introduced into Britain by the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, it was a genuine Old Low German dialect; and the subsequent additions by the Danes and Normans were all drawn from the same Medo-German source; so that, notwithstanding the numerous foreign words that have since been adopted, it still retains its Low German character, as may have been observed from the numerous examples in the course of the present chapter: water for wasser; sweat, schweiss; to pipe, pfeifen; to sleep, schlafen; birth, ge-burt, &c. The Danes and Low Saxons with the English use no prefix *ge*, which the Anglo-Saxons did: Dan. helligt; Engl. hallowed; A.-Sax. ge-halgud: it would appear, therefore, that the Saxon element prevailed over the Anglian in the formation of our present language; and the Celtic name for English, both in Wales and Scotland, is Sassenach.

In England, the original Welsh inhabitants were either gradually extirpated or driven to the mountainous recesses of the west, so that the German character prevailed over the Celtic: in France, on the contrary, the Low German conquerors, the Normans, Burgundians, &c. incorporated themselves with the ancient Galli or Welsh; and these last stamped the impress of their old Celtic language on the

French. In this way we must account for the different nature of the present languages in France and England, in which countries one common dialect, the Welsh or Perso-Celtic, had originally prevailed.

Upper German.—As Sanskrit and Zend are but recent discoveries when compared with our early knowledge of Persian, this latter would of course be the first to afford us the means of instituting a comparison between the idioms of the east and west. The similarity between Persian and German was noticed (as I have before remarked) in the sixteenth century; and a more careful study soon brought to light the interesting fact, that not only numerous words were alike in these widely distant languages, but that there was a family resemblance in their structure and general character. This circumstance could not fail to bring to mind the statement of Herodotus (i. 125), that one of the most considerable Persian tribes was called Γερμανιοι (Germanii); and to suggest the idea, that, as Europe must have been peopled from Asia, the remote forefathers of the great German family might have come from that particular quarter of the East.

Although most of the philological remarks which have been made on these two particular idioms, refer to the general affinity of the whole Indo-European class, yet some of the observations apply to the German race in a limited sense, and more especially to the Upper German division of it. Adelung states that the occurrence of so much German in Persian has excited much wonder and even astonishment: the fact is undeniable, and the common portion consists not only of a considerable number of radical words, but also of formative syllables and grammatical

inflexions (Mithridates, vol. i. p. 277). As instances of the use of prefixes in Persian, we find a-bru, ο-φρυς; a-rugh, ructus; a-michten, to mix; and the Persian forms girif-ten, saz-den, approach much nearer to the Old High German greifan, sezan, than to the older words, Skr. grabʿ (in the Vedas), Goth. gripan; Skr. sad, Goth. sitan. The affinity existing between the idioms in question, and the express mention of Persian Germans by Herodotus, are facts which favour the opinion that the primitive High Germans of Europe and the Germans of Asia were descended from a common stock; and which induce us to believe that the difference between Zend and the original Persian was as great as that which we observe between the Lower and Upper dialects of German. On the side of German, we possess much ampler means of judging of the ancient state of the language, than in the case of Persian. From the time that Cyrus the Great succeeded to the combined empire of the Medes and Persians, the Persian or southern language must have begun to be corrupted by the introduction of Zend or Medo-European forms; and we possess no compositions in it until long after the period of its farther corruption by the Arabian conquerors.

German writers, in tracing the history and genealogy of their native language, have found that it possesses more intimate relations with Greek than with any other idiom of Europe. Salmasius had very early pointed out the curious fact, that many German words were common to Greek and Persian; and Arndt asserts that the structure and character of the German language is quite Grecian, whilst the Russian very closely resembles the Latin. This is the more singular, as German has always been cultivated after Roman models, and the people been trained under the

Roman law and the Latin ritual; on the contrary, the Russians were attached to the Greek church, and never adopted the Latin language either for civil or ecclesiastical purposes; yet, notwithstanding these opposing circumstances, the two languages still retain respectively the distinctive character of their origin. This distinction is most broadly marked in the use or rejection of the article. In Russian and Latin it is never placed before nouns; in Gothic, also, it is very sparingly used; but it is indispensable to Greek and German, and is constantly recurring: also the Perso-Grecian and Perso-German dialects equally stand aloof from the Medo-European languages in the use of their medials.

Modern or New High German is indebted entirely to the Reformation for its present extensive circulation: it is the idiom of no particular district, but forms the language of literature and good society throughout Germany. It is generally considered, as the name implies, the most recent of three stages in the Perso-German language,— Old, Middle, and New High German. But this view will hardly account for the Medo-German forms that occur in it: braue for Old High German prawa; nebel for nepal, &c. The opinion of Arndt, therefore, seems more probable, that it arose from the ingrafting of an Upper German dialect upon a Lower German stock, and in the course of its development designedly received a greater degree of softness and polish from this source; and this view would account for the anomalies I have mentioned. The dialect, however, of Upper Saxony, from which it was principally derived, is said to hold a kind of intermediate place between the two great classes of the German idioms: in the form of the words it resembles the Upper German, and the Lower

in the softness of its pronunciation. The writings of the Saxon Luther, and his translation of the Bible, made this High German dialect the ecclesiastical language of his country, and it became every where current for all higher purposes. Luther has the credit of creating a common language for all his countrymen, and of giving rise to the present literature of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CELTIC LANGUAGES.

The Celtic races, when first noticed in history, occupied the western extremities of Europe; they are, therefore, supposed to have been among the earliest tribes who migrated from Asia. Like some of the families which we have already considered, the Celtic dialects form two clearly distinct classes: the Medo-Celtic, containing the Erse, Gaelic, and Manx; and the Perso-Celtic, comprising the Welsh, Cornish, and Bas Breton in France. Besides these, the Basque of the Pyrenees is referred to the same family: it contains many words in common with the other Celtic dialects, as also with the Albanian or Skype in Epirus; and, from the number of Basque words which occur in Spanish and Portuguese, it is supposed to have been the same as the Old Iberian, which was the prevailing language of these countries before the arrival of the Romans (Arndt, p. 19).

Besides the general affinity which the Celtic dialects

possess with the cultivated languages of Europe, they exhibit a curious connexion with some north-eastern idioms which have fallen into the same low state as themselves. Arndt has shown that the Basque, Erse, and Welsh, have not only a mutual relation to one another, but also to the idioms of the Finns, Samoiedes, and Mongols (p. 45). Even in the time of Tacitus, this similarity had been observed; for he remarks, that though the Finnish Æstii had adopted the German mode of life, yet their language more nearly resembled the Celtic (Britannica); Germ. c. 45.

The Finns are placed by Ptolemy and Tacitus in the east of Germany and on the banks of the Vistula, in company with the Guttones and Venedi; but before the irruption of these Medo-European tribes, they must have extended much farther to the west; and Celts and Finns may have lived in the heart of Europe as neighbouring nations which had sprung from a common source. The Finnish language has many words in common with Samoiede, Ostak, Mongol, &c. in the north-east, and with the Lesgian and other less known dialects on the north side of Caucasus. All the various scattered tribes which show any affinity with proper Finnish, are comprehended by the Russians under the general name of Tchudes; and this term is now generally adopted to express the whole race—of which the proper Finns form only a part. The Russian annals relate, that when Rurik, at the common desire of the Sclavonians and Tchudes, assumed the government at Ilmen See, a great portion of modern European Russia was still occupied by Tchudes; and they appear formerly to have reached continuously from Siberia to Caucasus. I have already mentioned the opinion of Rask, that nations

of this race once occupied all the regions between the Arctic Sea and Indian Ocean (Part I. ch. 2). To the Tchudic family of languages belong the proper Finnish and Esthian dialects, which are the best defined of the whole; also those of the Laplanders, the Ingrians, and Carelians, the Siranians and Permians, the Wotes or Wotakes, the Morduanes and Mokshanes, the Tcheremisses, Tchuwasches, and Woguls. The language of the Hungarians or Magyars has also been considered on good grounds to belong to the Tchudic family; for its vocabulary contains numerous words, which are found in many or some one of the dialects just mentioned.

Rask has thus described the Scythian or Tchudic race, as contrasted with the Sarmatian or Indo-European:—The Scythian race is much more difficult to classify than the Sarmatian, not merely because it is less known, but also because from the first it extended much more widely than any other, both from their own nomadic habits, and from the invasion of more powerful tribes. The long separation of individual branches has afforded them time to acquire peculiar and distinct characters, so that at the present day it is difficult to detect the least trace of their original identity. Arndt has rendered it probable, that the Basque in Spain belongs to the same family as the Finnish and Samoiede; and has shown that the Celtic dialects in Great Britain and France contain many portions of a similar origin. Klaproth (Archiv fur Asiatische Literatur) has shown that the Caucasian languages, with the exception of the Ossete and Dugorian (which belong to the Indo-European family) have a close affinity with Samoiede and other dialects in the North of Asia; and I believe that the Georgian may be assigned to the same Caucasian class.

In my Essay on the origin of the Old Norse language, I have endeavoured to show (p. 112—146), that in the oldest times a Finnish population had spread itself over Denmark and the whole North, and that the Greenlanders were a part of it. From all these considerations, it follows that the Scythian race extended in an unbroken line from Greenland over all the northern regions of America, Asia, and Europe, to Finland, and in still older times as far as the Eider or Elbe, and even to Britain, Gaul, and Spain; in the way that they are known to have occupied the countries from the White Sea to beyond Mount Caucasus. This race appears therefore to have supplied Europe with the far greater portion of its oldest inhabitants. It was afterwards disturbed and scattered by the irruption of new tribes: (1) by the Celts, who mingled with them in Gaul and Britain; (2) next by the Goths, who, before the age of Odin as well as long after it, became connected with them in Scandinavia; (3) and lastly, by the Sclavonians, who, at the present day, hold the greatest part of them in subjection. The Scythian people have in this way occupied the whole of Northern and Middle Asia, which appears to have been their proper home; but here the mountain ranges of Central Asia have served as a safe bulwark, and averted from their immense multitudes the fate which overtook their detached tribes in the open regions of Europe. In the Western part of the world, they are nearly all under Russian dominion; so that the whole of this vast race has formed only two independent states; the Mantchus in China, and the Turks[1].

From this passage it would appear, that Rask also had followed the common opinion of the comparatively recent

[1] Rask uber die Zendsprache, p. 69. Hagen's edit.

entrance of the Sclavonians into Europe.—"Antiquarians of later years have generally adopted the opinion, that Europe has been peopled by three great streams from the East; the Celts, the Goths, and the Sarmatians; who followed each other in the order in which they are here mentioned. The Sclavonian nations being the last which entered Europe, are evidently excluded from having furnished the first settlers in Italy or Greece[2]." Arndt insists much on an early European date for the Sclavonians; with respect to the primitive inhabitants of Europe, he introduces them in the following order: (1) Celts, that is, Medo-Celts; (2) Tchudes; (3) Galli, or Perso-Celts, who pressed through both the former, and took possession of Gaul.

The proper Celtic dialects, as it has been already stated, admit of arrangement under two distinct heads; and the difference between the two classes is marked, as in other families, by a preference of certain letters. The interchange of *s* with *h*, and that of *k* with *p*, are the most striking cases. The following words, collected from Prichard, are cognate in the Welsh and Erse languages: in the Medo-Celtic, like the Latin, the initial letter is *s*; but in Perso-Celtic, as in Greek, it is an *h*.

Medo-Celtic or Erse.	Latin.	Perso-Celtic or Welsh.	Greek.
salan	sal	halen	ἅλς
suan	somnus	hyn	ὕπνος
se	sex	chwech	ἕξ
saul	sol	heol	ἥλιος
savail	similis	havail	ὅμαλος
sean	senex	hen	ἕνος
saileog	salix	helig	ἑλικη
	sus	hwch	ὗς

[2] Brit. Crit. and Quart. Theol. Review, vol. i. p. 31.

It is very remarkable that there are scarcely any words in Irish which begin with *p*; insomuch that in an ancient alphabetic vocabulary, that letter is omitted: and it is no less observable that a considerable number of these words, whose initial in the British language is a *p*, begin in Irish with a *k*, or, as they constantly write it, with a *c*. This is shown by the annexed examples, quoted from Edward Lhuyd by Prichard, p. 46.

Welsh.		Irish.
pesuch	cough	kasachd
pen[3]	head	keann
puy	who	kia
plant	children	klann
plyv	feathers	kluyv
peduar	four	kathair
pymp	five	kuig
pridh	clay	kriadh

The following words will serve to show that the same law takes place in Greek and Latin:—

Medo-Celtic.	Latin.	Perso-Celtic.	Greek.
kia, kidh	qui, quid	pwy, pa	πις, πι
kathair	quatuor	pedwar	πισυρες
kuig	quinque	pymp	πεμπε
each	equus	eap	ιππος
krann	(ilex)	pren	πρινος

I have ventured on giving the word eap, as analogous to each, from the following statement of Pliny, H. N. iii. 21. "Eporedicas Galli bonos equorum domitores vocant." Now

[3] Compare below, Pennine Alps, Apennines, note 7.

as rheda is the Gallic name of carriage according to Quinctilian, epo or eap must have signified horse among the Gauls or Old Welsh. Petor for quatuor is said to have been both Gallic and Oscan; it is probable, therefore, that epus was Oscan also; from it is derived the name of the goddess Epona, which is of the same form as Bubona.

As there is a distinct affinity between Erse and Latin, the Erse must, to a certain degree, be akin to Russian also; the mutual relationship of all three is exhibited in the following list of words:—

Erse.	Latin.	Russ.
saul	sol	solnze
luan	luna	luna
dia	dies	den
nochd	nox	noc′
suan	somnus	son
neav	nubes	nebo
muir	mare	more
ko	quis	koi

Thus the Erse, from its affinity to Latin and Russian, clearly belongs to the Medo-European division: the Latin words that occur in Welsh, credu credo, canu cano, caru, to love, carus, &c., are owing to the general affinity of the Indo-European languages; otherwise the thought might arise, that the Welsh had adopted them during the Roman dominion in Britain; but we could not account in this way for the still greater similarity between Latin and Erse, as the Romans had no intercourse with the Irish. Besides, many of the Welsh terms are, as Llewelyn remarks, of such a nature that they could not be borrowed. "Corph and corpus, braich and brachium, dant and dens,—the

corresponding words in Welsh and Latin for body, arm, tooth,—are evidently similar terms, and must have proceeded from the same spring; but they cannot be supposed to have been borrowed by one tongue from the other, any more than the things they signify can be thought to have been borrowed by one people from the other." (Remarks on the British Tongue, p. 28.)

The affinity of Erse, Latin, and Russian, necessarily pre-supposes that Erse is related to Sanskrit and the other Eastern languages; the following list of words will show the nature of that affinity:—

Near (man), Skr. narah; Z. nairya; Sabine, nero.
Gean (woman), Skr. g'ani; Z. gena; O. Pr. genna.
Femen (——), Lat. femina; Skr. vamani.
Cridhe (heart), Skr. hrid; καρδια, cordis.
Anail (breath), Skr. an (to breathe, to blow); anila (wind).
Geo (ox), Skr. go; Z. gaus; Lett. gows.
Mios (moon), Skr. mas; Z. mao.
Garam (warm), Skr. g'arma; Z. garema.
Deas (right-hand), Skr. daks'ina; Z. das'ina.

In Sanskrit and Erse, this last word signifies south as well as right-hand, because the Indians and Celts considered the point of sunrise as the front. In this agreement (says Pott) there is nothing very surprising; but it must excite astonishment to find the south expressed among both nations by terms signifying right-hand, and which are etymologically related. The Deccan, in Greek Δαχνος, means the south country, and is corrupted from the ancient Sanskrit, daks'ina. In Gaelic, iar signifies behind and westward: it is probably connected with the old names for

Ireland (the western country), Eire, Ιερνη, Erionnach (an Irishman), Hibernia. This corruption of the name in Latin, Hibernia, wintry-land, gave rise to the notion, (Strabo, i. p. 169,) that the country was hardly habitable on account of the cold. (Pott, vol. ii. p. 186.)

Erse bearla, language; ad bhraim, I say; Skr. bru, bruve, I say; abravit, he said. According to Vallancey, the oldest language known in Ireland was called Bearla Fene or the Phenician dialect; and was a Punic-Celtic compound, which varies considerably from the modern Erse [4]. Bearla, language, is derived from the same Erse root as breithir, word; abra, speech; ad bhraim, I say; adubhairt me, I did say; and is cognate with the Sanskrit root bru, to say; infin. bravitum; bruve, I say; abrot and abravit, he said. I therefore feel inclined to look to the same quarter for the explanation of the other word Fene, which I consider to be in no way connected with Punic or Phenician. Meidinger mentions an old Eastern language named Fan, as very nearly related to Sanskrit and Zend, and which is ascribed to the Buddhists in China [5]. I am not in the least acquainted with this Fan language, but it has quite as good a claim to consideration in this point of view, as the Phenician or Punic.

The affinity of the Medo-Celtic dialects with Russian and Latin sufficiently proves their claim to that title, and renders it probable enough that they entered Europe by the north of the Black Sea; but Arndt supposes that the other class also, the Perso-Celtic, came at a subsequent period from the same quarter, because it contains more words than the Erse in common with the Mongol; and he

[4] Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, init.
[5] Meidinger's Deutschen Volkstamme, p. 89. 116.

connects this name with the ancient Welsh denomination of Gauls, Gaulois, Galli. The tribe of the Semgalli, in Courland, to which he alludes, seems to support his opinion; but this name, as the neighbouring tribe of the Lettgalli would lead us to suppose, is of Lettish origin. Semgalli is equivalent to netherlanders, lowlanders; and is derived from the Lettish semsh, low, (Lith. sam, under;) and the Lettish gals, boundary, district; so that Semgalleeshi signifies one who lives in the lowlands: kas Semmeja galla dsivo. (Pott, vol. ii. p. 535.) In addition to this, because there exists just as striking an affinity between Welsh and Greek, as there is found between Erse and Latin, I will venture the remark that these Welsh dialects may possibly belong to the Perso-European class; and that the existence of Galati or Gallo-Græci in Asia Minor may point out the way by which they entered Europe south of the Black Sea. Although some Welsh tribes may have wandered back from Europe and settled in Galatia, yet it is probable that Galatia may have been a resting place in their original passage to Europe from Asia; just as the Goths, who hastened the fall of the Roman empire, are said to have come from Sweden to the Black Sea before their descent upon Italy; although it is certain that, if the account be true, the movement was a retrograde one, as the earliest known seat of the Goths was on the Black Sea, from which they originally issued to Scandinavia.

As Celtic tribes constituted the first inhabitants of most countries in Europe, we might expect to find some traces of them in Italy; but as their settlements there are wholly beyond the reach of history, I shall confine myself entirely to philological arguments. The Erse, however, has so

much in common with Sclavonian, as has been already pointed out, that arguments drawn from this source would not be decisive, if we could not have shown that there are words and inflexions common to Latin and Erse, which are not found in Sclavonian. Thus in the numeral *five*, the initial *qu* or *k* is found only in the Latin quinque, and Erse, kuig; see the Vocabulary; although it is worthy of remark, that the Lith. penki, and the Lett. and Old Pr. pienki, by using *k* in the second syllable, show a nearer affinity than the rest to the Latin quinque or kinke: the Scl. c'etyri, four, varies from the Latin quatuor, and Erse kathair: equus, a horse, corresponds alone with the Erse, each, and Scand. eikur, oek. The Latin dative plural in bus has no analogues but in Skr. b'yas; Z. byo; Erse, aibh; Skr. vak; Z. vacs; Lat. vox: dat. pl., Skr. vagb'yas; Z. vac'ebyo; Lat. vocibus. "In the Erse dialect," says Mr. Prichard, "nouns have a very peculiar mode of declension; the following may serve as an example:—

	Singular.		Plural.
Nom.	an bard	Nom.	na baird
Gen.	an bhaird	Gen.	na mbhard
Dat.	o'n mbard	Dat.	o na bardaibh
Acc.	an bard	Acc.	na barda
Voc.	a bhaird	Voc.	a bharda

It is worth while to notice particularly the dative plural, which generally terminates in aibh, though this perhaps admits of a variety, for it is given by Lluyd in uibh. The terminations in uibh or aibh are plainly related to the old Latin dative in obus and abus, which was probably the genuine and original form of this case in Latin. The Sanskrit datives plural end in ab'yus or ab'yah, or at least

in b'yus after a vowel, as Skr. rajab'yus; Lat. regibus; Erse, righaibh or rioghaibh." (Celt. Nat. p. 186.) The Lithuanian has *mus* in the dative plural, or more commonly the contracted form, *ms;* wilkas, a wolf; dat. pl. wilkamus or wilkams. In Old Prussian it is *ns* or *mans;* vyrs, a man, dat. pl. vyrins or vyrimans. In Lettish, it is *im;* in Sclavonian, *m.*

The termination *r* [6], as characteristic of the passive voice, is found only in Latin and Celtic. It occurs in both branches: Welsh, carav, I love; passive forms, carer, cerir: Erse, cesaim, I torment; passive, cestar, cesfaidher. (Prichard, p. 180.) In Celtic, the third person plural ends variously in ant, ent, ont, ynt, and corresponds with the Latin terminations, ant, ent, int, unt; which last was originally ont, and agrees with the Æolic λεγοντι for λεγουσι. The Oscan forms, petor, pis, coincide with the Welsh pedwar, pwy, but cannot with any certainty be ascribed to them: a more convincing proof of their presence may be adduced in the Welsh appellation pen, a head or summit, which is found in the Latin names of mountain ranges, Apennines, Pennine Alps [7]. These reasons appear sufficient to induce us to believe that Erse and Welsh tribes had found an early entrance into Italy, although we cannot trace their course thither from our histories.

The facts and statements produced in this chapter will very aptly introduce the following remarks of a writer in the Quarterly Review:—"The Greek and Latin have for some time been considered by all competent scholars as two separate dialects, formed, each in its own peninsula,

[6] For the illustration of this *r*, as the sign of deponents, and of the passive voice in Latin, see Bopp, p. 686, and Pott, i. p. 133. ii. p. 92.

[7] In Erse kean signifies head: see above, note 3.

by a conquering race of Gothic [?] origin, planting itself each among a conquered primeval population, and each adopting, of necessity, part of the language originally spoken by that population into the substance of its own. It is thus that the Celtic element, largely visible both in the Greek and the Latin, is accounted for; and one of the most curious branches of the whole of this inquiry is, that which tends to confirm the radically separate formation of the two languages of classical antiquity, by showing that, though each has much of Celtic, the Celtic element of the one is not the Celtic element of the other. They have both borrowed, we are told, from the same vocabulary, but, generally speaking, they have not taken the same words. It is much to be wished, that this very curious point should be made the subject of a separate and minute investigation" (vol. xlvi. p. 339). From what has been said, it will be clearly seen, that the Medo-Celtic or Erse constituted the Celtic element of Latin, whilst Greek is cognate with a very different branch of the Celtic family; viz., the Welsh or Perso-Celtic. It has been already pointed out that Latin is of greater European date than classical or Perso-Greek; but it would appear, that even the Celtic portion of these languages held the same relative age; for though Arndt brings the ancient Gauls or Welsh from the north-east, yet he represents them as breaking in upon the Erse tribes, who had been previously settled in Europe.

Mr. Prichard concludes his interesting treatise on the Eastern origin of the Celtic nations with this

GENERAL INFERENCE.

I have thus laid before my readers the most obvious and striking analogies between the Celtic dialects, and the

languages which are more generally allowed to be of cognate origin with the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. On the facts submitted to them, they will form their own conclusion. Probably few persons will hesitate in adopting the opinion, that the marks of connexion are too decided and extensive to be referred to accident or casual intercourse; that they are too deeply interwoven with the intimate structure of the languages compared, to be explained on any other principle than that which has been admitted by so many writers in respect to the other great families of languages belonging to the ancient population of Europe; and that the Celtic people themselves are therefore of Eastern origin, a kindred tribe with the nations who settled on the banks of the Indies, and on the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Baltic. It is probable that several tribes emigrated from their original seat in different stages of advancement in respect to civilization and language, and we accordingly find their idioms in very different degrees of refinement; but an accurate examination and analysis of the intimate structure and component materials of these languages is still capable of affording ample proofs of a common origin.

PART III.

ON THE

PRIMEVAL HISTORY

OF

EUROPE, ITALY, AND ROME.

As there is nothing the Asiatics find it harder to conceive than the idea of a republican constitution; as the Hindoos are utterly unable to look upon the India Company as an association of proprietors, or in any other light than as a princess; so it fares with even the acutest of the moderns in the history of antiquity, unless by critical and philological studies they have stripped themselves of their habitual associations.—*Niebuhr.*

CHAPTER I.

ON THE RELATION OF EARLY HAMITE TRIBES TO EUROPE.

"The sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan."
GENESIS x.

IN the historical portion of this work I begin with Greece; not because the Greeks of the classical period are descended from the most ancient settlers in Europe, but because their traditions and records reach further back than those of any other European nation. In their earliest traditions and records we hear of numerous colonies from Egypt, Phenicia, &c.; therefore in the oldest genealogical antiquities of the West, we have necessarily to do with Hamite tribes; and in tracing back the origin of these, we are unavoidably carried into the remoter countries of the East. I can here give only a few of the strongest cases, and shall dwell more particularly on those points which can be connected with the sure word of scripture history.

"Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the

most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have fed upon acorns. Yet was Greece the first country of Europe that emerged from the savage state; and this advantage it seems to have owed entirely to its readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the East. Some of the best supported of ancient Grecian traditions relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies in Greece; traditions so little accommodated to national prejudice, yet so very generally received, and so perfectly consonant to all known history, that for their more essential circumstances they seem unquestionable. With all the intricacy of fable, however, in which early Grecian history is involved, the origin of the Greek nation, from a mixture of the Pelasgian, and possibly some other barbarous hordes, with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, seems not doubtful[1]."

I have made these extracts from Mitford, to show that a considerable portion of the early inhabitants of Greece consisted of a highly civilized people, speaking acknowledged Hamite dialects, which could have no affinity with Greek; yet these Egyptians and Phenicians, as well as the Pelasgians and allied tribes, are called Barbarians. Herodotus (ii. 50.) says, that the names of the Greek gods were derived from Barbarians, and principally from the Egyptians. Strabo states as the result of his inquiries, that the whole of Greece was originally occupied by barbarians from Egypt, Phenicia, Phrygia, &c. He says, "Hecatæus of Miletus writes, that before the Hellens, Peloponnesus was inhabited by barbarians; and, from the accounts that have been preserved, it would appear that nearly the whole of collective Greece (συμπασα Ἑλλας) was formerly

[1] Mitford's Greece, ch. i.

the abode of barbarians. For Pelops led a colony from Phrygia into Peloponnesus, and Danaus another from Egypt. The Dryopes, Caucones, Pelasgi, Leleges, and other kindred tribes, dwelt both within and without the Isthmus. The Thracians who accompanied Eumolpus held Attica, as Tereus did Daulis in Phocis. The Phenicians under Cadmus occupied Cadmeia, whilst Beotia itself was the seat of the Aones, Tembices, and Hyantes. Their barbarian origin appears also from some of their names; Cecrops, Codrus, Cothus, Drymas, Crinanus" (Strabo, lib. vii). Now it is well known that the Pelasgians were a civilized people, and highly skilled in various useful arts; indeed they carried on their navigation, architecture, draining and fertilizing of land on quite a gigantic scale; they therefore could not, any more than the Phenicians and Egyptians, be called Barbarians with respect to civilization: that term, therefore, must be confined to their language, and means nothing more than that they spoke an idiom which had no affinity with classical Greek. Herodotus (i. 57) expressly states that the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous tongue; and Strabo, in discussing the question, why Homer called the Carians βαρβαροφωναι and not βαρβαροι, asserts that the term Barbari, in its original sense, was limited to language (lib. xiv). It follows, therefore, that the idioms of the Pelasgians, Phenicians, and Egyptians were placed upon an equal footing by the Greeks; at least in the circumstance that none of them had any affinity with genuine Greek. "We find strong reason," says Mitford, "to suppose that in the early ages the difference of language over Asia, Africa, and Europe, as far as their inhabitants of those ages are known to us, was but a difference of dialect; and that the people of Greece, Phenicia,

and Egypt, mutually understood each other" (vol. i. p. 138). This statement in itself I consider to be essentially true; but it involves a contradiction in terms, if we understand it in any other sense than that the Pelasgians were of the same Hamite class as the Phenicians and Egyptians: a real Greek could have held no communication with a Mitzrite or Canaanite.

Strabo constantly describes the Pelasgians as an unsettled race, and prone to distant migrations (πολυπλανον εθνος). In his twelfth book he states that the Pelasgi, Caucones, and Leleges had wandered over the greatest part of Europe before the Trojan war, and in times of the greatest antiquity. Tradition places them always in the same countries as the Tyrrhenians and Tyrians: Saguntum and Tarraco, in Spain, are Pelasgian or Tyrrhenian colonies; and the Tyrians had colonies in Spain, as far as and beyond the pillars of Hercules. The circumstance of the Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, and Tyrians establishing themselves in very distant countries, I conceive is pointed out in sacred history. It is very remarkable, that in the account of the different families and nations which sprang from the three sons of Noah, there is a peculiar and distinctive characteristic attached to the descendants of Canaan. After mentioning the various tribes that stocked the land of Canaan, the sacred historian adds, "and afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad" (Gen. x. 18). The widespread settlements of the Pelasgians, like the Jebus or Jerusalem of the proper Canaanites, are generally characterized by a rock fortress which towered above the city, and whose natural strength was increased by the ponderous masonry of a scientific people. Such fortifications, however, are not peculiar to the Pelasgians, but are common

to all the tribes of that family. The Mitzrite Cecrops, who came from Sais in Egypt, and settled in Attica, fortified the rock Cecropia, which rose nearly perpendicular on all sides, and which is better known as the Acropolis of Athens. The Canaanite Cadmus, leaving Phenicia, established himself in Beotia, where he fortified the rock Cadmeia, which was the citadel of Thebes.

In general, then, the settlements of the Hamites were distinguished by strongly fortified citadels; and it is probable that the city and tower of Babel was their first undertaking of this kind. The builders of it are particularly marked out as the sons of men: "And the Lord came down to see the city and tower which the *sons of men* builded" (Gen. xi. 5). In the former world the members of the Church, the Sethites, were distinguished by the title "sons of God," from the apostatized Cainites, who were denominated "sons of men:" the general apostacy before the flood was completed by the chosen people intermarrying with the apostates, and, consequently, joining in their idolatry: "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose" (Gen. vi. 2). Now this distinction seems to have been kept up after the flood, in the case of the builders of Babel: the city of Babel, with its fortress or citadel, was built by the "sons of men," by which I understand the apostate Hamites. The tower of Babel was situate in the land of Shinar; and the Hamite Nimrod had, for one of his capitals, Babel in the land of Shinar (Gen. x. 10). From the sameness of these names, even if the places should not be allowed to be identical, we may with safety infer a sameness of origin at least in the builders of both cities. The descendants of Ham, the Egyptian and Phe-

nician colonists in Greece and elsewhere, erected in all their settlements a strongly fortified citadel; but Babel was the pattern of all the rest: "this they *begin* to do." It was the first[2] structure of the kind after the flood, although the art was probably derived from Cain, who was the first to build a city, and whose posterity held the same place among the antediluvians as the Hamites in our present world. It was the descendants of Cain who carried to perfection the art of working in metals, the science of music, with other implied arts and manufactures; and it was the Egyptians, Phenicians, Tyrrhenians, and Pelasgians, all of Hamite origin, who introduced the refinements of civilization into the West.

But farther: Cain's destiny—that he was to be unsettled and a wanderer on the face of the earth—like other personal prophecies in the early ages of the church, must be extended to his posterity; and it seems implied in the sacred narrative, that the Hamites, particularly in the line of cursed Canaan, were devoted to be unsettled and wanderers on the face of the renovated earth like their prototypes, the cursed Cainites, in the former world. The Hamites, therefore, seem to have taken counsel together, how they might avert their impending fate, "and they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. So the Lord scattered

[2] "This they *begin* to do," is the Hebrew method of expressing "this was the first doing of the kind:" the strongest example of this idiom which I have met with, occurs in 1 Sam. xiv. 35, where the translators were compelled to follow the spirit of the passage, and have thrown the literal translation into the margin. "The same was the first altar that he built unto the Lord:" marginal reading, "that altar he *began* to build unto the Lord."

them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth" (Gen. xi. 4—9). I have already shown it to have been characteristic of the Pelasgian tribes, that they were unsettled and wanderers on the face of the earth; and tradition related that this calamitous lot was inflicted on them by the offended gods, and that an evil fate pursued them (Dionys. i. 17). For the confusion of tongues at Babel, see the Appendix.

Having thus traced upward the history of the Hamite race, I proceed to show that the proper Persians belonged to the same great family, and were closely related to the Pelasgians of Greece. Muller has remarked[3] that Xerxes offered sacrifices to the heroes of Ilium, and that the learned men of Persia, as well as those of Phenicia, possessed many traditions concerning Io, Medea, Helena; but the connexion of the Persians with the Pelasgians was much more intimate, and of very early date. Perseus was the reputed founder of the Pelasgian Mycenæ near Argos: according to the Persian traditions in Herodotus, this Perseus was originally an Assyrian, but became a Greek, though none of his ancestors had done so before him (vi. 54): he was the first of these Assyrians who mingled with the Pelasgians in Greece. On this passage Bryant remarks: "Herodotus says that Perseus was originally from Assyria, according to the traditions of the Persians. The like is said, and with great truth, of the Heraclidæ, who are represented by Plato as of the same race as the Achæmenidæ of Persia. The Persians, therefore, and the Grecians were in a great measure of the same family" (Bryant, vol. iii. p. 388). It was on the ground of their common descent from Perseus that Xerxes claimed affinity with the Pelasgian Argives:

[3] Die Etrusker, vol. ii. p. 266.

" Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people: 'Men of Argos! attend to the words of Xerxes: we are of opinion that Perses, whom we acknowledge to be our ancestor, was the son of Perses, whose mother was Danaë, and of Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus; thus it appears that we derive our origin from you. It would, therefore, be unnatural either for us to carry on war with those from whom we are descended, or for you to make us your adversaries by giving your assistance to others'" (Herod. vii. 150). It is not improbable that this Perses, from whom the Persians derived their name (vii. 61), was the Peres or Pers פרס of the Hebrew Scriptures: Pers, Lud, and Phut formed the army of Tyre, as Pers, Cush, and Phut did that of Gog (Ezek. xxvii. 10. xxxviii. 5). From the connexion it would appear that these tribes were all of one race; and it is therefore probable that Pers was of Hamite origin, as well as Cush, Phut, and Lud.

Mr. Thirlwall remarks concerning Perseus, that the scene of his principal adventures is laid out of Greece, in the East. He was sent over the Ægean by his grandfather Acrisius, and his achievements follow the same direction (as Bellerophon's in Asia Minor), but take a wider range: he is carried along the coasts of Syria to Egypt, where Herodotus heard of him from the priests, and into the unknown lands of the South [4].

The name Pers is mentioned only by the later Hebrew prophets; it seems, then, to have been first brought into repute among the Jews by the powerful Cyrus. It is said

[4] Thirlwall's Greece, vol. i. p. 125.

that Cyrus, in Hebrew Cures, כורש, was not his original name; it in fact is not a proper name at all, but a title of dignity which was conferred afterwards, and which shows that he had become the supreme head of the Curete worship in Persia; as Romulus was honoured by the Quirite Romans under the title of Quirinus. That the worship of both countries was the same, is evident from the identity of the legend concerning the early years of Romulus and Cyrus. They were both exposed in their infancy, and suckled miraculously by brutes; they both vindicated their high birth by personal merit, and were respectively the founders of two great Curete empires. The same legend is also told of Habis, king of the Curetes at Tartessus in Spain: he likewise was exposed in his infancy, was nourished by wild animals, and became the head of a Curete kingdom (Justin, xliv. 4). In Italy, besides Quirinus and Quirites, occur the names Cures and Juno Curetis, which are all of one origin and meaning; but the clearest traces of this Curete worship are to be found among the Pelasgian Greeks of Crete, Samothrace, &c. From the Curetes of Ætolia and Acarnania, Strabo takes occasion to discuss the whole question of the Curete name: it appears from him (lib. x.) that the title Curetes is indicative of a particular kind of worship, which is co-extensive with the Pelasgian settlements: and Homer's "Curetes Achæi," noticed by Strabo, is evidently a collective name of the Pelasgian tribes, with the additional characteristic of their worship; and it corresponds exactly with the "Populus Romanus Quirites" of Roman history.

"Cyrus, the destroyer of the Chaldæ-Babylonian empire," says Jahn, "was born B.C. 599, about the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and one hundred

years after the death of Hezekiah, king of Judah. According to Plutarch, his name Κυρος, in Hebrew כורש, signifies the *sun*. In the ancient Pehlvi dialect, the name is *korshid*, that is, *splendour of the sun;* from *kor*, *light*, the *sun*, and *shid*, or *shed*, *splendour*. The name first occurs in Isaiah xliv. 28; xlv. 1; with which compare Jeremiah l. 44. Herodotus informs us that this was not his original name, but one which was conferred on him at a later period[5]."

Also the names Argives and Acheans, are by no means foreign to Italy, but are common to it with Greece. The Roman historians related that the first people on the Tiber were Argives; Cato and C. Sempronius wrote that they were Acheans[6]. And we learn from Homer (Iliad ii. 599) that the Achean name spread far in Peloponnesus; for he calls the Argians, with all the people of the north-eastern coast, Acheans; and he distinguishes the whole of the peninsula from the rest of Greece by the name of Achean Argos[7]. The name Achean Argos, again connects the Pelasgians and Persians: the Pelasgian Heraclidæ are said by Plato (in Alcibiad) to have sprung from the same stock as the Achæmenidæ, the royal family of Persia. Achæmenes is quite a Persian name: a brother of Xerxes was so called (Herod. vii. 7); and it is certainly related to that of the *Achean* Argives: Xerxes himself, who claimed affinity with these Argives, was one of the Achæmenidæ.

The leading family of the great Hamite race were the Cushites. The chief city of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, in the land of Shinar; afterwards he extended his power eastward into Assyria, and built Nineve: the original lan-

[5] Hebrew Commonwealth, b. vi. sect. 49.

[6] Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 45.

[7] Mitford, vol. i. p. 37.

guage of all this territory, watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, necessarily belonged to the Hamite class. The Hamite builders on the plain of Shinar used brick cemented with bitumen in erecting the city and tower of Babel; and the brick walls of Babylon laid in bitumen are mentioned by every ancient writer on the subject.

In the return of the 10,000 Greeks, Xenophon records that at a little distance from Babylon they passed the Median wall, which was built of burnt brick and cemented with bitumen (Anab. ii. 4): it seems to have been intended as a rampart against the incursions of the Japhite Medes. Mitford describes it as "a prodigious fortified line, intended, like those of the Romans against the Picts, in our own island, or the far more stupendous work of the Chinese against the Tartars, to defend a whole country. It was built of brick, twenty feet in thickness, and one hundred in height, and said to extend seventy miles" (vol. v. p. 211.) Farther on, the retreating Greeks took up their quarters for the night in a large deserted town on the river Tigris, which Xenophon calls Larissa, surrounded by a brick wall, twenty-five feet thick and a hundred high, raised on a basement of stone. The next day's march brought them to another deserted town, named Mespila, surrounded by a still more extraordinary fortification. The wall fifty feet thick was one hundred and fifty feet high: a basement, to the height of fifty feet, was of wrought stone containing shells; the rest was completed with brick. With respect to Larissa in particular, Mitford remarks: the name of a town in Media, written exactly like the name of the principal city in Thessaly, a name familiar in Greece, has excited surprise and enquiry. Close to Larissa, Xenophon describes a pyramid, very inferior in size to those remaining in Egypt, and differing much in

proportions, being about one hundred feet square at the base, and two hundred high. The comparatively very small, but still really large and costly structure, the tomb of Caius Sextius, at Rome, approaches in its proportions to the character of the Median pyramid (Id. p. 232).

We have already met with one connecting point between the Pelasgians and Assyrians, in the tradition of Perseus; for this Perseus, who became a Greek, i. e. a Pelasgian, was originally an Assyrian or Cushite: this town of Larissa, on the Tigris, as well as the name of Teutamos, affords other points. It is well known that a town Larissa is found in every Pelasgian country. There was a Pelasgian fort, Larissa, on the Liris in Italy: the citadel of the Achean Argos was named Larissa: a town in the Troad, so called, is mentioned by Homer (Iliad ii. 840); and many of the name occur in Asia Minor (Strabo, lib. ix). The name of Teutamos is often found connected with Larissa in Pelasgian countries: "Teutamos, Teutamias, Teutamides, was a native traditional name at Larissa on the Peneus. We find a Teutamides Lethos at the Pelasgian Larissa in Troas (Iliad ii. 843), and a Teutamos at the head of those Pelasgians and Dorians who went to Crete. Hellanicus calls his Nanas, under the character of a Pelasgian fugitive, the son of Teutamides; and other authors have brought Teutamos himself into Pisa in Etruria" (Muller, vol. i. p. 94). Diodorus asserts that the kingdom of Troas was dependent on Assyria, since Priam implored and obtained succour from his emperor Teutames [s]. I shall only add that Memnon, king of Cush, was present with an army at Troy, to assist his uncle Priam.

[s] Sir W. Jones on the Persians.

The Pelasgians in Thessaly, on the Po, in Tuscany, &c. are celebrated for their skill in embanking rivers, and in the drainage and irrigation of land. I have no doubt that they brought the art originally from their Hamite brethren who remained behind in the great alluvial plains of the Euphrates and Tigris: the canals, fosses, and numerous hydraulic works between these great rivers, are too well known to require any farther notice than a bare allusion to them.

Besides Babylonia and Assyria, which were occupied by Nimrod, other sons of Cush appropriated to themselves the eastern and southern part of Arabia; from whence they passed over into upper Egypt on one side, and on the other into Persia and the western side of the Indian Peninsula.

With respect to the Cushites of Arabia, Mr. Beke observes, that it is not a mere speculative idea to conceive, that at a period anterior to the existence as a nation of the Egyptians, or even of the Ethiopians, the Peninsula of Arabia was the seat of a populous and mighty empire, the records, and indeed the remembrance of which, are now entirely obliterated from the volume of history. But though all remains of the history of these aborigines be irrecoverably lost, it is yet far from improbable, that in the country which they once inhabited, some buildings, some sculptures, or other remains may have defied the destroying hand of Time even until the present day, and that traces, however faint, may consequently yet remain to testify their existence, and their former residence within it; so that we may be allowed to entertain the expectation, or at least the hope, that when the time shall arrive (which sooner or later it must do), when the deserts and wilds of

the interior of Arabia shall again be in the possession, or open to the inspection, of civilized man, some marks will be discovered of the former residence there of those mighty Cushites, that some remains will be found to exist of ages, which will probably carry us back to within a few generations only from the epoch of the Dispersion of mankind. In the Appendix to the Second Volume of Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, London, 1829, 8vo, are the following remarks; being the notes of information obtained by that traveller from natives, which are highly deserving of observation, with reference to this subject:—"The stations of the caravan between Damascus and Medina are well known. The most interesting spot on this road, within the limits of Arabia, appears to be Hedger, or, as it is sometimes called, Medayen Saleh, seven days north of Medina. This place, according to many passages of the Koran, which has a chapter entitled Hedger, was inhabited by a gigantic race of men, called Beni Thamoud, whose dwellings were destroyed, because they refused to obey the admonitions of the prophet Saleh. In circumference, Hedger extends several miles; the soil is fertile, watered by many wells and a running stream; here are generally large encampments of Bedouins. An inconsiderable mountain bounds this fertile plain on the West, at about four miles distance from the ground where the pilgrim caravan usually encamps. In that mountain are large caves or habitations cut out of the rock, with sculptured figures of men and various animals, small pillars on both sides of the entrances, and, if I may believe the testimony of Bedouins, numerous inscriptions over the doors; but I am inclined to think, that the Arabs may have mistaken sculptured ornaments for letters," p. 393. And again, "In

Nedjed are many ancient wells, lined with stone, and ascribed by the inhabitants to a primeval race of giants. They are generally from twenty-five to thirty fathoms deep. Here likewise are numerous remains of ancient buildings, of very massive structure and large dimensions, but in a state of complete ruin. These are attributed to a primitive or perhaps a fabulous tribe of Arabs, the Beni Tamour (Thamoud), of whose supposed works some vestiges are likewise seen in the Syrian deserts of the Eastward plains of Hauran [9].

The traveller Niebuhr, saw at Mokha the copy of an inscription in strange and unknown characters, which had been found in a province remote from the sea coast: he was quite convinced that it was written in the same characters as the Cuneiform inscriptions he had seen at Persepolis [10].

The sculptured caves of Persia, as well as the Cuneiform writings, connect the Cushites of Persia with those in Arabia. On the passage of Isaiah xxii. 16:—

> "O thou that hewest out thy sepulchre on high,
> That gravest in the rock a habitation for thyself!"

Bishop Lowth observes: There are some monuments still remaining in Persia of great antiquity, called Naksi Rustam, which give one a clear idea of Shebna's pompous design for his sepulchre. They consist of several sepulchres, each of them hewn in a high rock near the top; the front of the rock to the valley below, is adorned with carved work in relievo, being the outside of the sepulchre. Some

[9] Beke's Origines Biblicæ, vol. i. p. 163.
[10] Niebuhr's Travels, Heron's translation, vol. ii. p. 11.

of these sepulchres are about thirty feet in the perpendicular from the valley; which is itself raised perhaps above half as much by the accumulation of the earth since they were made. See the description of them in Chardin, Pietro della Valle, Thevenot, and Kempfer. Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. mentions these ancient monuments, and calls them the sepulchres of the kings of Persia.

The Cushite Indians on the West of Hindostan, are also remarkable for their highly wrought caves. In the island of Elephanta, near Bombay, is an elaborate cave, which travellers call an Indian temple. It is 120 feet long, and the same in breadth, without including the measurement of the chapels, and the adjacent chambers. Its height within is nearly fifteen feet, although the floor has been greatly raised by the accession of dust, and of the sediment of the water which falls into it in the rainy season. The whole of this vast structure, situate in a hill of considerable height, is cut out in the solid rock. The pillars supporting the roof are also parts of the rock which have been left standing by the architect. They are of an uncommon order; but have an agreeable enough effect. The walls of this temple are ornamented with figures in *bas-relief*, so prominent, that they are joined to the rock only by the back. Many of these figures are of a colossal size; being some ten, some twelve, and some even fourteen feet high. Neither in design, nor in execution, indeed, can these *bas-reliefs* be compared with the works of the Grecian sculptors; but they are greatly superior in elegance to the remains of the ancient Egyptian sculpture. They are also finer than the *bas-reliefs* from the ruins of Persepolis. No doubt, then, but the arts were cultivated by the ancient Indians with better

success than is commonly supposed. Three similar temples in the isle of Salset are described by Anquetil [11].

It is highly probable that these subterranean, so called Indian temples, were Cushite sepulchres. The account of the temple at Elephanta, would suit exactly as a description of the sepulchres discovered in Tuscany, and of the family vaults in the land of Canaan mentioned by Bishop Lowth; the sepulchres of the principal Hebrews were vast subterranean caves excavated by art in the solid rock, some of them were of such extent, as to require pillars to be left for the support of the roof; small recesses were formed in the sides to receive the dead [12]. These wonderful sepulchres in Palestine were certainly in great part the work of the Canaanites, the previous inhabitants; and the cave, which Abraham bought of the Hittites with such formalities for the burying place of Sarah, Gen. xxiii., I have no doubt was one of them.

The conclusion to which I am led by the facts stated in this chapter, is, that the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman empires, were all of Hamite origin, and branded with the mark of the Curete worship. The Hebrew prophets under the inspiration of God, announced that there should be four, and only four great worldly empires; and that the fifth kingdom should be of a spiritual nature. It is because those four empires were grounded on Hamite principles that Assyria, Babylon, Edom, Tyre, and Rome, are used indifferently and promiscuously in Scripture for the adversary of the Church, and as the great obstacle to the coming of the fifth empire,—the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah. The four empires formed parts of one con-

[11] Niebuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 391.

[12] De Sacra Poesi Hebræor. Part I. p. 127.

tinuous systematic Hamite dominion; just as their types, the members of Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic image, formed one body which was solely possessed and animated by the spirit of the great adversary, Satan: its different members were all equally crumbled to dust before the stone cut out without hands. Daniel ii.

I have said above, that the four empires were literally of Hamite origin, as well as grounded on Hamite principles; it is my opinion, however, that they all contained both Japhite and Hamite elements; although, in fact, the Hamite superstition, progressing at an equal pace with the diffusion of Hamite knowledge, soon leavened the whole lump. The following table expresses my idea of the mixed composition of the great empires of the world:—

Empire.	Nation.	Race.
First or Babylonian.	Assyrians.	Hamite.
	Chaldæ Babylonians.	Japhite.
Second or Persian.	Medes.	Japhite.
	Persians.	Hamite.
Third or Grecian.	Pelasgians.	Hamite.
	Proper Greeks.	Japhite.
Fourth or Roman.	Tyrrhenians and Tuscans.	Hamite.
	Sabines or Old Prussians.	Japhite.

If the proper Persians, as is supposed above, were of Hamite origin, it is quite impossible that their language could belong to the Indo-European class. Now, among the dialects anciently spoken in Iran, there was one of very extensive use, but from its mixed nature, is of very uncertain character. The Pehlvi, an obsolete language of Persia, was so called from the Heroes who spoke it in former times, or from Pahlu, a tract of land which included,

we are told, some considerable cities of Irak [13]. Rask [14] adopts the supposition of Sir W. Erskine, that it was a corrupt Indo-European dialect, formed on the Western limits of the Persian empire in Chuzistan and Luristan, after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus; and they find a confirmation of this opinion in the fact, that the greater half of Pehlvi consists of Semitic words, and particularly of Chaldee. But as I have come to the conclusion, on independent grounds, that the proper Persians were of Hamite and probably of Cushite origin, I conceive that Sir W. Jones is nearer the truth, who states, that a careful examination of the subject gave him a perfect conviction that the Pahlavi was a dialect of the Chaldaick. The Persians themselves said, according to Herodotus, vi. 54., that Perseus, who became a Greek, *i. e.* a Pelasgian, was originally an Assyrian, or Cushite; my opinion, therefore, is, that Pehlvi was a corrupt Cushite dialect, and akin to the language of the Cushite Nimrod in Babylon and Assyria. After Cyrus had ascended the throne of the combined Medo-Persian empire, Pehlvi was the current idiom, and remained the predominant language for a long period: Cyrus himself resided seven months of the year at Babylon, where a Cushite dialect must have been originally vernacular; two months at Susa, and the remaining three months at Ecbatana in Media: a practice, which was kept up by his Hamite successors, the Achæmenidæ.

Note.—I had made some progress in this Work on the usual supposition, that the Pelasgians were related to the Greeks, and that the Persians belonged to the Indo-Euro-

[13] Sir W. Jones on the Persians.

[14] Rask uber die Zendsprache, p. 12.

pean family: but a closer investigation of this division of the subject has brought me to a directly opposite conclusion. It therefore became necessary to make alterations in the earlier portions of the treatise, and I have done so wherever the Pelasgians were incidentally mentioned; but as I could not substitute for the term Perso-European any thing more satisfactory to myself, and as it is quite possible that my present view may not meet with general favour, I came to the resolution of leaving the whole of Part I. in its original state, on account of the convenient nomenclature and arrangement. But, although I now attach not the slightest historical importance to the division of the European languages into Median and Persian, yet it is still evident, that there were three original Iranian dialects; viz., Sanskrit, Zend, and some third language to which the name of Persian seems not appropriate.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE PELASGIANS OF ASIA MINOR, GREECE, AND ITALY.

"Though to the Greeks the history of the Pelasgians began in Greece, and we are, therefore, unable to pursue it further, it should be remembered, that this is only an accidental termination of our researches, and that the road does not necessarily end, where the guide stops."—Thirlwall's Greece.

Wild and barbarous was the state of Greece in general, when Crete, the largest of its islands, had acquired a polity singularly regular, attended of course with superior civilization. In vain, however, would we enquire at what precise period, in what state of society, by what exertions of wisdom and courage, and through what assistance of fortunate contingencies, so extraordinary a work was accomplished: for many centuries elapsed before written records became common, and traditions are vague, various, and, for the most part, inexplicably mixed with fable. Crete is thus a great object for the dissertator and the antiquarian. Curiosity is excited by those scanty glimmerings of information which have preserved to us the names of the Cabeiri, Telchines, Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, with

Saturn, Jupiter, and other personages, either of this island, or connected with it in mysterious history. Still more it is excited by that system of laws, which in an age of savage ignorance, violence, and uncertainty among surrounding nations, enforced civil order, and secured civil freedom to the Cretan people, which was not only the particular model of the wonderful polity so well known to us through the fame of Lacedæmon, but appears to have been the general fountain of Grecian legislation and jurisprudence; and which continued to deserve the eulogies of the greatest sages and politicians, in the brightest periods of literature and philosophy. The glory of this establishment is generally given to Minos, a prince of the island; whose history was, however, so dubiously transmitted to posterity, that it remained undecided among Grecian writers, whether he was a native or a foreigner. Some indeed attributed the final improvement only to Minos, referring the first institution to Rhadamanthus, in a still earlier age; and some have supposed two princes of the name of Minos, in different periods. The evidence of Homer, however, though delivered partly in the enigmatical language in which poetry often indulges, appears to determine that Minos, the only Minos whom he knew, and, it may be added, whom Aristotle knew, was not of Cretan origin, but a chief of adventurers from Phenicia. Mitford, ch. i. sect. 2.

From the statement here made by the historian of Greece, it would appear a hopeless endeavour to extract a particular account of Cretan antiquities from the usual historical sources; but by following out the hint, that the lawgiver Minos was a Phenician, *i. e.* a Canaanite, we may hope to derive from Scripture some information concerning the Cretan origin and civilization.

According to Herodotus (i. 173), Crete originally was wholly possessed by barbarians, i. e. its earlier inhabitants spoke a language which had no affinity with Greek, and which, therefore, for the reasons given in the last Chapter, must have belonged to the Hamite class. Now the Cretim (in Hebrew כרתים, in the English version Cherethites), who are mentioned by the prophets Ezekiel and Zephaniah[1], were certainly Cretans, and of the same stock with those which occur in Grecian history: that this was the opinion of the Seventy is shown by their translating the word Κρητες; but in the prophetical and historical books of the Hebrews, the Cretim are mentioned as identical, or at least cognate, with the Philistim. The Philistim, like the Cretans, were skilful bowmen (1 Sam. xxxi. 3), and when David made peace with them, he employed some of their archers as his body-guard, although it was most probably some of the Cretan division whom he took into pay; for it became a common practice afterwards with the Cretans to let out their services, as mercenaries, in the cause of other states: this body-guard of king David are the Cherethites (Cretim), who are often mentioned in the sequel[2].

In Asia Minor we find, in close connexion with the Cretans, a whole series of tribes who occupy an important place in the early history of Greece and Rome. The Carians, of Cretan origin, were formerly islanders, under the dominion of Minos, and were called Leleges (Herod. i. 171); in early times, says Thucydides (i. 8), they were the principal pirates, together with the Phenicians or Canaanites. The Lydians and Mysians were of kindred

[1] Ezek. xxv. 15. Zeph. ii. 5.

[2] See Bp. Patrick on 1 Sam. xxx. 14. 2 Sam. viii. 18.

origin with the Carians; and this relationship is represented after the usual manner in the native account that Lydus and Mysus were brothers of Cars, the phylarch of the Carian race (Herod. i. 171). Herodotus (i. 10) expressly calls the Lydians barbarians; and Homer distinguishes the Carians by the epithet *βαρβαροφωναι*.

The Lycians were a Cretan colony under Sarpedon: their laws were partly Cretan and partly Carian: the people themselves were anciently called Solymi (Herod. i. 173). Their government was an elective monarchy; and so prosperous that in ancient times they held the command of the sea as far as Italy (Strabo xiv). The primitive Lycians were also remarkable for their skill in masonry: according to Strabo (lib. viii), the massive walls of Tiryns were built by Cyclops expressly sent for from Lycia; and he conceives that the "Cyclopean Caves," with their artificial labyrinths near to Nauplia, the port of Argos, were the work of these same Lycian Cyclops. In connexion with these Cyclopean builders, the Lycian Solymi from Crete, we may reasonably mention the Kenites, an ancient Canaanite nation, who were great builders of rock fortresses: "Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock" (Numb. xxiv. 21. Gen. xv. 19). Now these Kenites, in the Chaldee paraphrase, are called Solymi, שלמיא, like the Solymi of the Cretan Lycians. The identity of the names is evident from comparing the Hebrew Jeru-salem with the Greek Ἱερο-σολυμα, or the Latin Solyma. This city, so well known by description to every Christian reader, affords a good instance of the rock fortresses which were built by these Solymean Cyclops: it withstood the attacks of the Israelites for some centuries after the Exodus, and remained in the possession of the

original Jebusites till the time of the Kings: "Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion" (2 Sam. v). It would appear, then, that the Jebusites were Solymeans, and of kindred origin with the Hamite Philistines, Cretans, Lycians.

I do not here undertake to determine whether the Lydians, Lycians, Mysians, are to be counted to the Mitzrite Philistim and Ludim (Gen. x), or to the Canaanite Tyrians and Tyrrhenians: I content myself with stating distinctly that they certainly were not Greeks; but belonged, contrary to the prevalent opinion, to the great Hamite class of nations. To point out the importance of having a clear insight into the origin of these tribes, in reference to the early history of the West, it is only necessary to mention that in one account of the Tyrrhenian migration to Italy, Lydus and Tyrrhenus are called sons of Atys, king of Lydia; and that, in another, the emigrants are said to have been Mysians under the guidance of Tarchon and Tyrrhenus, sons of Telephus, king of Mysia; whilst Telephus himself was of Arcadian, i. e. of Pelasgian, descent.

Thessaly.—Thessaly, unless we should except Crete, was the oldest object of poetical story and popular tradition of any part of Greece; and, had we means of investigation, were perhaps the worthiest of historical curiosity. We read of kings there who extended their dominion southward as far as the Corinthian isthmus, and who left monuments of their wisdom that survived almost all memory of their power. In Thessaly also, at the port of Iolcus (on the Pelasgian gulf), we are told, was made the first successful attempt to build a ship of size superior to what had before been known; and thence sailed the celebrated expedition

of the Argonauts. With the assistance of the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of the district, and of the skill of a Phenician (or Canaanite) mechanic, Jason built a vessel larger than had hitherto been common among the Greeks; and conducted a pirating expedition—then an honourable undertaking—to a greater distance than any had ventured before him (Mitford, ch. i. sect. 3).

At the time when the Carians were still inhabiting the Cyclades, and were even settled with other barbarous nations in several quarters on the continent of Hellas, while the Hellens were confined to the northern mountains, the Peloponnesus and the largest part of Hellas belonged to the Pelasgians; but this was a very small portion of the countries they occupied. Thessaly was their second great seat in Hellas, or, as it was then generally called, in Argos. Hence Thessaly was termed the Pelasgian Argos; and a part of it retained the name of Pelasgiotis: the hypothesis which supposes the Pelasgians in the middle of Italy to have migrated thither from the East, brings them from Thessaly, as if this were their proper home; and the words Thessalian and Pelasgian are used as equivalent (Niebuhr's Rome, vol. i. p. 29).

From the Phoronis of Hellanicus we learn that Nanas, the son of Teutamides, was the fourth in descent from Pelasgus, king of the Pelasgians, and Menippe, the daughter of Peneus; in the reign of Nanas, the Pelasgians were driven out of Thessaly by the Hellens, they crossed the Adriatic, and, landing on the river of Spina at the mouth of the Po, occupied Cortona; from thence they spread into Tyrrhenia and settled there (Dionys. i. 28).

Beotia.—The oldest known inhabitants of Beotia were

various barbarous tribes of kindred origin with the Pelasgians; Aones, Leleges, Hyantes, &c. Afterwards came the Phenicians from Tyre, under Cadmus, who built the fortress Cadmea upon an eminence of great strength, and laid the foundation of Thebes. These Cadmeans gained the command over nearly all the former Pelasgian inhabitants of Beotia. A little after the war of the Epigoni, the Cadmeans were driven out of Beotia by the original Pelasgians, and formed in Thessaly a lasting government in company with the Arneans, under the common name of Beotians. These Beotian Cadmeans, at the time of the Æolic migration, returned from Arne to Beotia, and drove out the original Pelasgians to Athens; they obtained settlements in Attica, at the foot of Hymettus, in return for surrounding the Acropolis with a wall: from them a part of Athens was called Pelasgian (Strabo, lib. ix). Niebuhr speaks of them as follows: "A wandering people, called Pelasgians, had obtained settlements in Attica, at the foot of Hymettus, after the Dorian migration, on condition of performing taskwork for the state. They came last out of Beotia, having some time before acted in concert with the Thracians in wresting that country from the Cadmeans, who had now returned from Arne: but their first appearance had been in Acarnania; and all Pausanias could learn about their extraction, was, that they were Sicelians. That is, so runs the story, they came from the south of Etruria, where their king, Maleotes, had resided in the neighbourhood of Graviscæ: at all events, they must undoubtedly have called themselves Tyrrhenians. This name remained with their descendants, who abode for a long time in Lemnos and Imbrus, and are said to have driven out the Minyæ from thence; afterward, being compelled by the Athenians to

emigrate anew, they turned their course—some to the Hellespont, some to the coast of Thrace and the peninsula of mount Athos. Hence Thucydides says, 'Athos is inhabited by a Pelasgian race, the Tyrrhenians, who were formerly settled in Attica and Lemnos'" (vol. i. p. 40).

A part of the Pelasgians who migrated from Attica, founded Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, and spoke a barbarous language in the time of Herodotus (i. 57); and it should be remarked that the Pelasgians in Italy and on the Hellespont, from whose dialect Herodotus personally inferred that the language of the whole race was barbarous, were descendants of those who had formerly come from Thessaly and Beotia, and whose history has been given above. The Pelasgian language is called barbarous throughout; yet so deeply rooted is the opinion that the Pelasgians were akin to the proper Greeks, that even the name of Cadmus himself, who led the Phenician colony from Tyre into Beotia, is said to have been Greek. Cadmus, says Muller, stands at the head of heroic history at Thebes; but that the name is of Greek origin is clear from its admitting of composition with the particle *eu*, in the artificer's name Eu-cadmus (vol. i. p. 77). It has, however, quite as good a claim to a Canaanite or Hamite descent; for a son of Ishmael's was called Cadmeh (Gen. xxv. 15); a town named Cadmeth is mentioned in Josh. xiii. 18; and an ancient people of Canaan are called Cadmonim (Gen. xv. 19). These last, as Mitford has noticed, resemble in name the people of Beotia, who are sometimes called Cadmeionai by Homer, though more generally Cadmeioi. But even the philological argument for the Greek origin of Cadmus is inconclusive; for Phrat פרת is the acknowledged Hamite name of a well known river (Gen. xv. 18),

yet it has been transformed by the Greeks into Eu-phrates, by compounding it with the same particle as in the case of Eu-cadmus.

The oriental derivation of the name of Cadmus, says Mr. Thirlwall, is indeed as uncertain as the original import of that of Phœnix, which Hellanicus gives to his father, but which was used by the Greeks as one of the proper names of their native heroes. Thebes, likewise, showed what were thought to be the traces of Phenician worship; and the story of the sphynx, whatever may have been its origin, may seem to point, if not to Phenicia, at least toward the East. On the other hand, modern writers find in the legends of Cadmus and his consort Harmonia, in their connexion with Samothrace, and with the mysterious Cabiri, decisive marks of a Pelasgian origin (Greece, vol. i. p. 69).

This author's opinion concerning the Pelasgian tongue is thus expressed: "If this is the right point of view, it would be capricious to doubt that the portion or element—for it includes both substance and form—which the Latin language has in common with the Greek, was immediately derived from the Pelasgians. It will then follow that the Pelasgian language was at least the basis of the Greek itself, and that it may be far more correctly considered either as a dialect, or an early stage of it, than as totally foreign to it. This general result seems to be well established; but all attempts to define more exactly the relation between the two languages, and to describe the characteristic marks, can only rest on analogies arbitrarily chosen and applied. We must be content with knowing both as to the language and the race, that no notion of them

which either confounds or rigidly separates them, will bear the test of historical criticism" (Id. p. 56).

Niebuhr, also, holds the common opinion of an affinity between the Pelasgian and Greek idioms. He says that the Pelasgians were a different nation from the Hellens: their language was peculiar and not Greek: this assertion, however, must not be stretched to imply a difference like that between the Greek and the Illyrian or Thracian. Nations, whose languages were more nearly akin than the Latin and Greek, would still speak so as not to be mutually understood; and this is what Herodotus has in his eye; who, distinctly as he draws a line between the two nations, yet deviates from all other Greek writers in ranking the Epirots among the Hellens. That there was an essential affinity, notwithstanding the difference, is probable, from the ease with which so many of the Pelasgian nations ripened into Hellens, as well as from the Latin language containing an element which is half Greek, and the Pelasgic origin of which seems unquestionable. Herodotus says, that in process of time they grew to be accounted Greeks (vol. i. 27). For the statement that their language was *peculiar* and not Greek, Niebuhr refers to Herodotus (i. 57), who expressly declares that the only conclusion he could arrive at was, that the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous tongue, *βαρβαρον γλωσσαν*[3]. In fact, I conceive that all the tribes mentioned above in this chapter, were of kindred origin with the Pelasgians, and of Hamite descent.

The philologist and grammarian Pott speaks hesitatingly

[3] Muller, also, on this passage of Herodotus, calls the Pelasgian a peculiar language: eigenthumliche sprache. Vol. i. p. 95.

concerning the Pelasgians. What know we of the Tyrrhenian or Pelasgian language? Granting it were Greek—which certainly is not yet established, and the opposite opinion is nearly as probable, &c. (vol. i. p. xxix). And again: On these grammatical grounds we arrive at the conclusion, which only lately has gained a hearing, though the Etruscan, Umbrian, and other old Italian inscriptions proclaimed it loudly and intelligibly enough to the unprejudiced, that the Roman dominion and language had swallowed up many races and idioms in Italy, which it were a mere folly and fruitless labour to attempt to force into an affinity with the inhabitants and speech of Latium. It is certain that not all old Italian languages are cognate with Latin, or have even a general affinity with the Indo-European class: the same thing, without any great degree of boldness, may be predicated of Greece in its wider extent of Epirus and Thrace. The Greeks and Latins, together with the related tribes in Central and Lower Italy, most probably constituted a single people previously to their separation, of which our histories have preserved no record. One branch of this race broke in from the North upon Italy, and the other upon Greece; and both of them, I believe, found the respective territories already occupied by a population which was of an entirely different origin (vol. ii. p. 433). It has been my object to show that this previous population belonged to the Hamite class of nations; and that the ancient people, from whom the Greeks and Romans had a common descent, were the Medo-Grecians, whose language formed the basis of Latin, and of the Latin part of Greek.

We have seen that the Thessalian Pelasgians, who took possession of Cortona, and sent out colonies from it for the

peopling of Tuscany, landed at Spina. According to Pliny, the mouths of the Po at Spina and Caprasia were the only original and natural outlets of that river; all the more northern streams and canals were dug by the Tuscans, in order to control the violence of the river by discharging some part of it into the morasses of the Atrians. Pliny's expression, *omnia ea flumina fossasque* (iii. 20), "all those streams and canals," evidently refers, says Muller, to all the more northerly outlets, and necessarily includes the Fossa Philistina. This name must be Tuscan; it certainly is not Latin: Mazocchi calls it Hebrew, and explains from the same source the names of several places in this neighbourhood (Muller, vol. i. p. 226). It is curious that this plainly foreign name should occur in the valley of the Po, as it will be shown in the next chapter that the Rabbis continue forward the prophecies concerning Tyre and the Philistines to Venice; which prophecies could be applied to Venice only as the representative of the Hamite Pelasgians at Spina.

The Tyrian Cadmeans, who were driven out of Beotia, formed, according to Strabo (lib. ix), a close union with the Arneans of Thessaly, who were therefore probably a kindred colony from Tyre, or at least from Canaan; and it is not at all impossible that the Thessalian Pelasgians, who landed at Spina and peopled Tuscany under the name of Tyrrhenians, consisted in part of these very Cadmeans and Arneans from Tyre or Canaan. In Italy we meet with a tribe of Arni, a city Arne, and a river Arnus; this city and river most certainly derived their name from some Canaanitish Arni or Arneans, in the way that a colony of Philistines executed and bequeathed their name to the Fossa Philistina: a river Arnon and a city Cadmeth both

occur in the book of Joshua (xiii. 16. 18); and an apparently Canaanite town, Phœnicis, on the lake Copais in Beotia, is mentioned by Strabo (lib. ix).

With these arguments before them, surely the most sceptical and prejudiced will allow that there are some reasonable grounds for referring the Tyrrhenians of Italy, through Spina and Cadmeia, to Tyre and Canaan. The Trojans also belonged to the same race. Niebuhr observes that "every thing we have to build upon in the old mythological stories, with a view to discovering the affinities of ations, indicat es that which existed between the Trojans and the Pelasgian tribes—the Arcadians, the Epirots, the Œnotrians, but more especially the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians. Dardanus comes from the city of Corythus to Samothrace, and from thence to the Simois: Corythus, in Virgil, is a Tyrrhenian, according to Hellanicus and Cephalon, a Trojan; this interchange, the expedition of the Trojans to Latium and Campania, and the wanderings of the Tyrrhenians to Lemnos, Imbrus, and the Hellespont, may safely be interpreted as designating nothing more than national affinity" (vol. i. p. 187). From this statement of Niebuhr's, I infer that the Trojans were Tyrians, or at least of Hamite origin. He had before remarked that it is somewhat surprising to find the Roman poets calling the Greeks very often Pelasgians: we are all familiar with this usage from the days of our youth and of the Æneid: the practice of the Greek epic poets, even of the Alexandrian school, no way justifies the Roman; yet the latter begins even with Ennius:—

"Cum veter occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelasgo[4]."

[4] Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 36.

But I feel no hesitation in asserting, however startling it may sound, that Troy and Hector, Achilles and his preceptor Phœnix, were all of Canaanitish origin; and this view affords a simple explanation of a circumstance which Mitford calls *most unaccountable*. "Homer's Grecian chronology begins thus scarcely before the age of Pelops—a generation or two earlier than the Theban war—and it ends with the restoration of Orestes, great-grandson of Pelops, to the throne of Argos. Within these limits, Grecian history is regular and probable; and chronology, according to every opinion of the learned who have endeavoured to illustrate it, sufficiently tallies with the course of events. But this luminous period stands most oddly insulated. That it should have been preceded by times without history is not wonderful; but that it should have been followed by so many centuries of utter darkness as chronologers have imagined, appears most unaccountable" (Appendix to chap. iii). "The dark period which begins where Homer's history ends," was the turbulent period of transition from one race of men to another, which was in no way connected with the former in its interests and feelings: the supremacy of the Hamites had passed away, and nations of Japhite origin were gaining the ascendant.

"As there are creatures of races which seem to have survived from a period of other forms, standing like aliens left to pine away in an altered world, so the Pelasgians, in the portion of history within the reach of our monuments and legends, appear only in a state of ruin and decay; and it is this that makes them so mysterious. The old traditions spoke of them as a race pursued by the heavenly powers with never-ending calamities; and the traces of their abode in very widely distant regions gave rise to the fancy, that

they had roamed about from land to land in the hope of escaping from these afflictions" (Nieb. vol. i. p. 28). The Pelasgians were Canaanites[5]; and the description which is here given of them by Niebuhr, might serve as a paraphrase on the expressive words of Scripture: "Cursed be Canaan.—Afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad."

All the people of this race were remarkable, not only for their skill in draining marshes and lakes, but also for the gigantic scale on which they exercised the art. "The greatest part of Tuscany is mountainous: the rich valley through which the Arno flows, was anciently a lake and swamp. There was a lake from Segna to below Fiesole, and toward Prato: the valley was blocked up by mount Gonfalina; this rock has been cut through, and a passage opened for the stream toward Pisa. When the walls of Fiesole were built, this whole extent was still filled with water; as is proved by the aperture for drains. On the Po, in the neighbourhood of Hadria, the art of turning off muddy rivers had been practised by the Etruscans with success; which rivers, if kept shut up between dams, are continually raising their beds, so that after the lapse of centuries they stand on a level far above that of the adjoining country; and hence it becomes necessary to raise the dykes in the same proportion, until the perseverance of man is at last exhausted in the unequal contest with the powers of nature. Now one among the useful arts carried on by the Tuscans in our days, is that of diverting such waters into

[5] Hyginus dicit Pelasgos esse, qui Tyrrheni sunt; hoc etiam Varro commemorat.—Servius in Æn. viii. 600.

marshes, in order to draw them off again, when the fertilizing deposit has been secreted: by this system the Chiana has gradually been converted from a barren pestilential swamp into a rich plain. It is with reference to the overlaying of swamps like the Chiana, a process which at the same time prevents the bed of the river growing higher, that we must understand Pliny's account of the stream of the Po being guided by the Tuscans into the morasses of the Hadrians: similar works are needed there at this day. The channels, too, by which the Po discharges itself, were dug by the Tuscans or by their subjects; and their canals and dams were the means by which its delta was constructed" (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 128).

Now the Pelasgians of Thessaly and other countries practised, with as great success as the Etruscans, the art of turning muddy rivers into their low marshy grounds for the purpose of reclaiming or fertilizing them: land brought under cultivation in this manner is expressively called by the Greeks ποταμοχωστον. We know that a town Larissa is found in most Pelasgian countries; but Strabo notices three in particular where such land occurs, namely, among the Thessalians, Phricones, and on the Cayster: the inhabitants of these places possess a territory ποταμοχωστον, reclaimed and fertilized by their respective rivers,—the Peneus, Hermus, and Cayster (lib. xiii). But land so situated must have been particularly exposed to inundations from sudden and unseasonable rains; and Strabo mentions an occasion on which the Larisseans of Thessaly suffered extensive damage from such a catastrophe: the might of the river overpowered the skill of man, and reduced their richly cultivated low ground to its original condition of a

lake or swamp; but the scientific Pelasgians recovered the territory by an increased attention to the embankments of the Peneus (lib. ix).

Other tribes of this Hamite race, who settled in Beotia, and built the city Phœnicis on the lake Copais, are distinguished for their greatness in this and similar arts. "The supposing that a race of giants must have been the architects of the walls composed of enormous polygonal blocks, in what are called the Cyclopian cities, from Præneste, and even Ardea, to Alba in the land of the Marsians, as well as of the walls of Tiryns which are exactly similar; such an opinion," says Niebuhr, "is an expression of the untutored understanding. That these walls are not the works of those tribes which our history meets with in Latium, inasmuch as they are greatly beyond their powers, we are certainly forced to pronounce; but we must content ourselves with confessing, that our history does not reach back far enough. In like manner the vaulted drains of the lake Copais, which are carried for thirty stadia through the solid rock, and the clearing of which surpassed the power of Beotia in the time of Alexander, are certainly the work of a people prior to the Greeks." Niebuhr adds, "Our finding that the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians (the Pelasgians driven out of Beotia by the Cadmeans) were employed to build a fortress on the Acropolis at Athens, might lead us to conjecture that the nation enjoyed a peculiar celebrity for this kind of architecture." Vol. i. p. 171.

Marks of a kindred civilization can be pointed out between the Tuscans and the Lydians, Mysians, &c.; such coincidences demand particular attention, on account of the explicit declaration of Herodotus, (i. 94.) that the Tyrrhenians of Italy were a Lydian Colony. It has, how-

ever, become quite the fashion to under-rate this testimony, and to call in question the whole account. "The origin of the Tuscans from these Lydian settlers," says Muller, "is now with reason fairly given up; yet it is surprising how deeply that belief is rooted in the history and traditions of the Tuscans themselves." Vol. i. p. 72. Micali can find for this piece of history no better terms than *romance* and *fable;* yet, seeing that he has written most elaborately to prove the Egyptian origin of the Tuscan civilization, the three simple words "Mitzraim begat Ludim," in Gen. x., might have had a talismanic effect in converting for him this romance into reality, and this fable into true history, if he could in any way have connected the Mitzrite Ludim with the Lydian forefathers of the Tuscans. Now Rosenmuller, in his Scholium on Gen. x. 13, gives the following account of this people:—Concerning these Ludim we know nothing more with certainty, than that they were a warlike African nation at a considerable distance from Palestine; they were, however, not situated in the interior of Africa, but towards the West; in Ezek. xxvii. 10, they are mentioned as mercenaries in the Tyrian army, and if they had lived beyond Philœ in Æthiopia, it is not probable, they would have been engaged in the service of Tyre.

If, therefore, these Mitzrite Ludim were the ancestors of the Lydians who settled in Italy, as mentioned by Herodotus, we need not be surprised at finding some traces of an intercourse between the Tyrians, Lydians, and Italians. Now the prophet Isaiah, ch. xxiii., points out clearly, that there existed a very close intimacy between Tyre on one side, and Tarshish and Chittim on the other; and it may be shown, that Italy has at least as good a claim

as any other country to be identified with Chittim. In Gen. x. 4, the Hebrew word is כתים, Cetim, in the Septuagint, Κητιοι, Cetii, in the Jerusalem Targum, איטלייא, Italia; and in Numb. xxiv. 24. Chittim is rendered in the Jerusalem Targum, לומברדיא, Lombardia; in the Vulgate, by Italia.

According to Bochart (Phaleg. iii. 5), and Michaelis (Spicil. i. p. 103), Chittim is without doubt the name of that part of Italy which is in the neighbourhood of Rome; and Dionysius mentions a city, Cetia, which is situated in Latium itself. Some authors derive the Romans and Latins from the Citii or Cetii, and say that this was the primeval name of the inhabitants of that peninsula[6]. In Homer, Odys. xi. 518, a son of Telephus, king of Mysia, commanded the Ceteians; the Scholiast on the passage states, on the authority of Alcæus, that the Ceteians were a particular tribe of Mysians.

From these statements there is reason to infer, that there was some real ground of connexion between the Lydians and Italians; the only reasonable objection arises from the Scriptural statement, that Tarshish and Chittim were the sons of Javan, and the grandsons of Japheth; from which it would follow, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Spain and Italy were not Hamites, but belonged to the Indo-European class. But this is only an apparent difficulty; for the Pelasgians, says Plutarch in Romulo, according to ancient tradition, roved over the greatest part of the world, and having subdued the inhabitants, took up their residence in the countries which they had conquered. In these par-

[6] See Rosenmuller in Gen. x. 4. Suidas says that Telephus, who was son of Hercules and surnamed Latinus, gave the Latin name to the ancient Cetii of Italy.

ticular instances, the Hamite Pelasgians had subdued the native Indo-European inhabitants of Spain and Italy; and established, as we have seen, a Curete kingdom in both countries.

One general point of resemblance between the Tuscans and Lydians is, the epithet "barbarous," with which both races are distinguished by the Greeks and Romans, and which shows that the Tuscan and Lydian idioms had no affinity with Greek or Latin. Herodotus expressly ranks the Lydians among barbarous nations, and Cicero places the Tuscans in the same class: è barbaris nulli ante maritimi præter Etruscos et Pœnos, De Rep. lib. ii. 4. Pausanias says, that Arimnus, king of the Tyrseni, was the first of the barbarians, πρωτος βαρβαρων, who made an offering to Jupiter at Olympia, lib. v. 12. This barbarous character of the Tuscan language would be only a natural consequence of their descent from the barbarous Lydians; the circumstance is mentioned here only to point out that it is not at variance with the Lydian migration recorded by Herodotus.

The sepulchre of Alyattes, king of Lydia, with its five termini bearing inscriptions, Herod. i. 93, brings to mind the tomb of the Tuscan Porsenna with its five pyramids: the celebrated mausoleum, erected by Artemisia, was Carian.

The Lycian polity, like the Tuscan, was an elective monarchy; and so prosperous, that it once held the command of the sea as far as Italy. We have already seen that the Lycians were a kindred race with the Lydians and Carians, but it was peculiar to the Lycians that their genealogies were reckoned by the mother's side, Herod. i. 173; and it is remarkable, that the epitaphs in the ancient

Tuscan sepulchres, distinguish the individual much more frequently by his mother than by his father's name. Muller, vol. i. p. 403.

The important conclusion which I would draw from all the above premises, is, that the Pelasgians and Tuscans belonged to the *same* great Hamite race; yet there are some distinctions which equally show, that they constituted *different* portions of that race. The walls and fortifications of all Pelasgian cities in Greece and Italy are built of huge stones of a polygonal shape, whilst the materials in Tuscan cities are hewn into regular rectangular forms. "In general," says Muller, "the towns of Etruria are distinguished in this manner from those in the rocky district of the Hernici and the neighbouring highlands, as well as from the gigantic walls of Arcadia and Argolis; and thereby show that they are of more recent origin, as, in the common course of things, the progress is from irregular to regular forms, and not the reverse. On the whole, however, it may be said, that these colossal walls on numerous heights form a characteristic feature peculiar to Greek and Italian districts; and they may be adduced in evidence, that the Tuscans and the Hellens (Pelasgians?) were of kindred origin, and started on their career with the same elements of civilization; it would therefore follow, that the whole art of masonry, connected with the elevated sites of all these Etruscan cities, must date its origin from the arrival of the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians in Italy." (Vol. i. p. 250.) It is certainly very singular, (says a writer in the Quarterly Review,) that wherever tradition points out the Pelasgian settlements, there the polygonal style of building should be found; but we are led to another curious result: in Etruria, the polygonal style of building

is scarcely ever discovered; as far as it goes, this argument would show, that the Tyrrhenians, the main body of the Etrurian people, or the subjugated race, who, according to Niebuhr, executed their great works, were not Pelasgians (vol. liv. p. 440). I have already stated, that the Pelasgians and Tuscans formed different subdivisions of the great Hamite race: to what particular tribe of it the Tuscans belonged will appear more plainly in the next chapter.

As Hercules occurs for particular notice afterwards, and he was extensively worshipped among Hamite tribes, the Tuscans, Pelasgians, Phenicians, &c., I shall conclude this chapter with some remarks concerning this deity, extracted from Mr. Thirlwall's History of Greece.

It is sufficient to throw a single glance at the fabulous adventures called (by the Greeks) the *labours* of Hercules, to be convinced, that a part of them at least belongs to the Phenicians and their wandering god, in whose honour they built temples in all their principal settlements along the coast of the Mediterranean. To him must be attributed all the journeys of Hercules round the shores of Western Europe, which did not become known to the Greeks for many centuries after they had been explored by the Phenician navigators. The number, to which those labours are confined by the legend, is evidently an astronomical period, and thus itself points to the course of the sun which the Phenician god represented. The event, which closes the career of the Greek hero, who rises to immortality from the flames of the pile on which he lays himself, is a prominent feature in the same Eastern mythology, and may therefore be safely considered as borrowed from it. All these tales may indeed be regarded as additions

made at a late period to the Greek legend, after it had sprung up independently at home. But it is at least a remarkable coincidence, that the birth of Hercules is assigned to the city of Cadmus; and the great works ascribed to him, so far as they were really accomplished by human labour, may seem to correspond better with the art and industry of the Phenicians, than with the skill and power of a less civilized race. But in whatever way the origin of the name and idea of Hercules may be explained, he appears without any ambiguity as a Greek hero. Vol. i. p. 126.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ORIGIN AND PROPHETIC DESTINY OF THE TUSCANS.

"That which Petra is, and which Rome itself is destined to be."
Keith on the Prophecies.

ETRURIA is one of the great and, as yet, unsolved problems of ancient history. It is clear, that before the Romans, there existed in Italy a great nation, in a state of advanced civilization, with public buildings of vast magnitude, and works constructed on scientific principles, and of immense solidity, in order to bring the marshy plains of central and northern Italy into regular cultivation. They were a naval and commercial people, to whom tradition assigned the superiority, at one period, over the navigation of the Mediterranean. Their government seems to have been nearly allied to the oriental theocracies; religion was the dominant principle; the ruling aristocracy a sacerdotal order. In their federal government, (each Etruscan Union consisted of twelve cities, one beyond the Apennines, one in Tuscany proper, one in Campania,) in their internal polity, in their usages, the Etrurian nation bore some

resemblance to the other races of Italy, those of aboriginal or Oscan descent; in their religion also, some few traces of similitude may be found, though that of Etruria was a far more regular, artificial, and powerful system; in their anguage they stood entirely alone. They were named by the Greeks and Romans Tyrrhenians, or Tuscans; their land Tyrrhenia and Etruria: they called themselves, however, by an appellation which never seems to have been familiarized among the other nations of Italy—the Ra-seni or Ra-sena (Quarterly Review, vol. liv. p. 432).

It is no traditional opinion, says Niebuhr, which has taught the moderns, that, independently of the extensive empire they once held, they were one of the most remarkable nations of antiquity. The ruins of their cities, the numerous works of art that have been discovered, the national spirit of the Tuscans, who looked upon them as ancestors to be proud of; even the tempting mystery of a language utterly unknown,—all this has made the moderns pay more attention to them than to any other of the Italian tribes; and the Etruscans at this day are incomparably more renowned and honoured than they were in the time of Livy (vol. i. p. 107). I feel no doubt that every Christian reader, in following out the views to be developed in the present chapter, will consider this remarkable people as worthy of greater attention still; since their future destiny seems to be closely bound up with the unfulfilled promises in God's word. Before proceeding to give what I conceive to be the true origin and history of the Etruscans, I shall premise, as a fitting introduction, the opinions of such men as Niebuhr, Muller, and Micali, in order that the present state of information on the subject may be clearly seen.

In Niebuhr's opinion, then, the Rasena were a rude and

warlike tribe, who, moving southward from the Rhetian Alps, established themselves in the country of a civilized people, namely, the Tyrrhenians—a Pelasgian race, of kindred origin with the Grecian—and reducing them to a state of bondage employed their arts in the service of the conquerors: the great works, the ruins of which still excite our astonishment, were executed by the skill and the enforced industry of the enslaved inhabitants of the land.

On the other hand, Muller looks upon the Rasena as an indigenous people of Italy, who had originally a slight affinity with the Greeks; but it was their good fortune to be quickened in the career of civilization by the arrival of a Greek, or half Greek, race—the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians; these had landed at Tarquinii in their flight from Tyrrha, in Lydia, whence they were driven by the influx of the genuine Greeks at the time of the Ionian migration. The Pelasgian Tyrrhenians originally came from Beotia, and in the course of their wanderings to Athens, Lemnos, &c., a portion of them settled at Tyrrha, from which they derived their name. Whilst settled there, they adopted the Lydian flute and trumpet, and were the means of communicating them to the Greeks and Tuscans: to this might be added many other undeniable coincidences in dress, customs, &c. between the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians of Lydia and Italy.

Very different from either of the above is the opinion of Micali: his view, however, appears so much nearer the truth, as he considers the Tuscan civilization to be of Hamite origin. "On some remarkable coincidences in the style of building, the discovery of Egyptian antiquities in the very oldest sepulchres, the extraordinary resemblance of the sepulchres themselves with the necropoleis of

Thebes, the apparent analogies between the Etruscan and the Egyptian mythology—particularly in the ceremonial of the dead (the *Mantus* of Etruria answering in his office, as well as closely corresponding in his name, with the *Amenti* of Egypt); on these grounds Signor Micali does not hesitate to rest his hypothesis of the civilization of Etruria by a sacerdotal colony from Egypt. He even ventures to conjecture the period when this migration may have taken place. At the disastrous epoch in the Egyptian annals, when the barbarous Hykshos overran Egypt, overthrew the native dynasties, destroyed the temples, oppressed the religion, enslaved alike the highest and the lowest caste, a great number of the leading families abandoned their native shores. At this time were thrown off the colonies mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (lib. i. c. 28). A sacerdotal settlement was made in Babylonia; Cecrops passed from Sais to Attica; Danaus from Thebes to Argolis. During this general dispersion of the higher caste of the Egyptians, a few families may have made their way to the coasts of Italy, obtained the ascendancy by their superior knowledge and their acquaintance with the arts of civilization, but chiefly by the sanctity of their priestly character, and established a sacerdotal aristocracy over the barbarous Rasenas, the indigenous inhabitants of Etruria. By their influence, according to Micali's theory, the Etrurian nation was gradually raised to the rank of a civilized, conquering, and commercial people, so as to establish its dominion over the whole of Italy, to be at one time the masters of the navigation of the Mediterranean, and to introduce at least the rudiments of the fine arts into the West (Quarterly Review, vol. liv. p. 443).

It will be seen at once from the former chapters, that of

the three influential opinions which I have stated, the last must coincide most nearly with my own; it is, therefore, necessary to enter more fully into the arguments of the author, in order to show in what points he approaches the truth, and in what he fails. Micali (vol. i. p. 143) gives the following general statement of the conclusions at which he has arrived:—

"That the principles of these oriental notions in Etruria were chiefly derived from Egypt, is not a mere ingenious speculation; for we have most positive demonstration in the monuments themselves, which establish with the greatest weight of authority, that at a very early period there existed in Etruria a centre of civilization, contemporaneous with that of the East and of Egypt.

"And here we mean to speak of the *most ancient monuments*, or those which at least are the representatives of the tenets received in the *most ancient times;* in these alone the true and legitimate national character can be studied: those which betray in any manner the influence of Grecian art, or mythology, belonged to a period manifestly secondary, and can only give false notions of the history of the primitive Etruscans. Now the principal symbols which passed at first into Etruria, as the veil of the secret doctrines, are found in great numbers, particularly among the monuments in the sepulchres; which men in the older times, profoundly impressed with religious notions, considered their true and eternal dwelling. There are seen Canopic vases, figures of biform nature, winged sphinxes, and every other kind of monstrous animal; all the significant emblems of the East, or of mysterious Egypt—the very doctrine of Amenti recurs in a great many representations; the evil placed in opposition to the protecting genii; scarabei in great num-

bers; and in what more particularly regards the arts of design, the workmanship and the imitation of the Egyptians, which we might almost call the Asiatic style of Etruria, are the great distinction of works properly called Tuscan. Figures having four wings and other unusual symbolic forms and signs, which rather distinguish the Phenician, or Syrian, or Babylonian divinities, show still further that the highly-religious Etruscans adopted, wherever they made their voyages or traded, celestial protectors, more particularly in the East, the abundant source of superstitions. Indeed, without going so far, in the neighbouring Sardinia, which was inhabited by Phenicians, Carthaginians, and Etruscans, the latter might easily appropriate many things foreign to, yet in strict conformity with, their own system; and these same Asiatic, Phenician, and Egyptian notions—the groundwork of the national Etruscan mythology—were so deeply rooted from their antiquity in Etruria, that even when the people began to fall away from its ancient creed, and the power of the priesthood to decline—when the arts of design wholly Grecized, imitating only the Hellenic models—we still find not a few of the symbols and the fables of the antiquated religion brought upon the scene, though under more graceful forms."

In Etruria, says a writer in the Quarterly Review—article *Micali*[1]—in Etruria it is certainly very remarkable that the style of building presents so many points of resemblance with Egypt. The construction of the tombs, hewn out of the solid rock, bears a close analogy to the Egyptian. At the first view of part of a tomb near Toscanella, in Sir

[1] I have great pleasure in referring to this article, both on account of the writer's own remarks, and because the original work is too costly for general reference.

William Gell's book (vol. i. p. 397), which bears an Etrurian inscription, we should decidedly have pronounced it Egyptian. In another passage, relating to the tombs of Tarquinii, he gives the following statement: "It is singular that the men represented in these tombs are all coloured red, exactly as in the Egyptian paintings in the tombs of the Theban kings: their eyes are very long; their hair is bushy and black; their limbs lank and slender; and the facial line, instead of running like that of the Greeks, nearly perpendicular, projects remarkably, so that in the outline of the face they bear a strong resemblance *to the negro, or to the Ethiopian figures* of Egyptian paintings. They wear round their ancles rings as ornaments, and armlets on their arms. Shawls of oriental patterns are also worn by both male and female. Many of those engaged in the sports have only a wrapper of linen round their loins: some have boots of green leather, reaching behind to the calf of the leg" (Gell, vol. i. p. 390).

These, continues the reviewer, are certainly very curious coincidences, if they lead to nothing farther; but the buildings of the Etruscans and Egyptians present some other singular points of analogy. The celebrated tomb of Porsenna is closely allied to Egyptian art. Varro, at least, whose description of this remarkable monument has been preserved by Pliny, had no Egyptian theory to maintain, and could hardly have invented the striking points of resemblance between this work and the Pharaonic buildings. But even supposing, with Niebuhr, that it is altogether a fiction, still it would be quite as extraordinary that Etruscan fiction should give such an Egyptian cast to its imaginary buildings, as that Etruscan art should affect the pyramidal forms, and make a labyrinth part of a public monument.

"Porsenna," says Varro, "is buried under the city of Clusium, in which place he left a monument of *squared* stone (lapide quadrato), each side three hundred feet wide and fifty high. On this square base, within, is an inextricable labyrinth, from which, if any one should hastily enter without the clue, he could not find his way out. Above that square stand five pyramids—four in the corners, one in the middle—seventy-five feet wide at the base, one hundred and fifty high; so pointed, that on the top of each a brazen circle and cupola is placed, from which bells are suspended by chains, which, agitated by the wind, are heard at a great distance, as was formerly the case at Dodona:" the resemblance to the Pelasgian Dodona is worth remarking;—"above which circle were four pyramids, each a hundred feet high; above which, on one floor, are five pyramids," the height of which Varro was ashamed to add. "The Etruscan traditions say that it was equal to all the rest of the structure: so insane was the infatuation of seeking glory, which could produce no advantage.—Moreover, the wealth of the country was exhausted to add to the fame of the architect" (Quarterly Review, p. 442).

On these coincidences in the style of building, and on the other analogies described above, Micali grounds his theory of the Egyptian origin of the Tuscan civilization. But against this hypothesis it is forcibly objected (Review, p. 446), that in the religion of the Etruscans, excepting Mantus and Amenti, there is, after all, rather a general resemblance to the great Oriental systems, than to that which is purely and exclusively Egyptian. Signor Micali himself admits other foreign influences; and monuments of Phœnician and other eastern superstitions appear intermingled with those of an Egyptian character. In the

religion itself, as far as it can be traced, there is the Oriental Pantheism, Dualism, Tina, the Cupra or the Juno; the Minerva, the Neith of Egypt, and the Athena of Greece; the Sethlans, the Vulcan, or the Pthah; still there is nothing which indicates a peculiar relationship to Egypt rather than to any other part of the East. M. Micali himself seems to admit, that the Cabiric worship of Dionysius, or Bacchus, with its peculiar symbols, of which there appear in his engravings very curious and very early monuments, may have been introduced from Samothrace. In fact, our author rather shrinks from the strong and decisive tone with which he had announced his hypothesis in the first volume, when he enters into a more complete examination of the Etruscan *religion* in the second. It cannot be doubted, (says he,) that the Egyptian religion *predominated over all the others*, as far as relates to the rites of sepulture, the most important of all, considering that it gave to man a more distinct confidence that he was passing to a better haven. Cinerary vases in the Canopic form, little statues, amulets, scarabei, and a great many other principal symbols of Egyptian superstition discovered in the sepulchres, are an undoubted proof of the great zeal displayed by the Etruscans in imitating in their family tombs the very forms of the Egyptians, with whom they had for a long time commercial relations and constant intercourse. And, in truth, it is not surprising if so many things in our country, in her earliest ages, as well religious as civil, are shown, on the authority of facts, to resemble so much the Egyptian, since, at that time, *one and the same system of ideas was ruling and dominant among all civilized peoples.* (Vol. ii. p. 121.) This is a very different view from that of the direct Egyptian descent of the sacerdotal

caste. The question is, whether the extensive commercial connexions of the old Etrurians will not of themselves account for the introduction of all these vestiges of foreign superstitions; whether ancient Etruria, in her high time of wealth and luxury, like republican and imperial Rome, may not have imported largely the superstitions as well as the other merchandize of Egypt. If the connexion had been that of regular lineal descent, we should certainly have expected a more close and striking resemblance to the Egyptian mythology; the deities in their forms and attributes would have been more manifestly the same with those on the shores of the Nile; the sacerdotal caste would have transplanted and enshrined its whole Pantheon in the newly-colonized region. The total difference of the names of the deities is a very strong argument against their identity: we find an Amenti, indeed; but to Pthah, Thoth, Amun, Oseirei, and the whole host of Egyptian deities, we find no resemblance in the Etruscan names of the gods. The attributes are equally wanting; the heads of the hawks, the jackals, the monkeys, which distinguish the Hor, the Anubi, and other Nilotic divinities. In short, the ceremonial of the dead alone bears the religious impress of Egypt. Id. p. 446.

The Etruscan language stands alone, a problem and a mystery, not merely allied to none of the older dialects of Italy, but bearing no resemblance to any tongue with which it has yet been compared. The barren result of Otfried Muller's learned excursus, leaves us with little more than a certain number of proper names, one or two conjectural grammatical forms, and a probable sign of the patronymic. Niebuhr has said, that the whole of our knowledge may be summed up in two words, *avil ril*, which

certainly mean *vixit annos;* but it is not quite clear which word is the verb, and which the noun. We are not aware whether the advocates of the Egyptian origin of the Tuscan civilization have instituted any comparison between the Etrurian and the ancient Egyptian, as far as it may be obscurely traced in the modern Coptic. There is certainly some slight similarity between the Etrurian words, which seem to consist almost entirely of consonants, and from which we may fairly suppose, that the shorter vowels were omitted in writing as in the Semitic languages, and in the Egyptian, as made out by the interpreters of hieroglyphics. Many of the latter are, in like manner, composed almost entirely of consonants, to which it would be difficult for the most flexible organs to give any sound without supplying the intermediate vowels. The only conclusion at which we can arrive is, either that the Tuscan belonged to the Semitic class of languages, and migrated from the East in some unknown line, or that it is, like the Basque, the solitary representative of some earlier stream of population, which flowed over Europe from the great Eastern cradle of humankind. Id. p. 433.

What then was the home of this mysterious race, so decidedly Eastern in its general character, yet repelling any nearer approach to the place of its birth? Whoever reflects upon Niebuhr's first theory of the Tuscan origin of Rome, and on Micali's theory of the Egyptian origin of the Tuscan civilization, will hesitate before he totally rejects the following statement, which is drawn from an entirely different source; it is a department of literature, which was perhaps never before applied to illustrate the antiquities of Rome.

Rabbinical account.—Esau's descendants (says Mr. Allen

in his Modern Judaism) are the subjects of extensive traditions, in which the Rabbies, with an effrontery at which we should wonder in any other men, have set at defiance all authentic history and accurate chronology. These representations, the fallacy of which will be too obvious to require being pointed out, may be briefly comprised under the following heads.

First :—That the descendants of Esau, the sworn enemies of the descendants of Jacob even to the end of the world, were at first a small nation, inhabiting Mount Seir and the adjacent country, contiguous to the land of Canaan: —that they were easily confined within their own limits, as long as the Israelites enjoyed a great and formidable empire in Canaan; but, that after the powerful republic of the twelve tribes was destroyed by the Assyrians and Babylonians, they wonderfully increased in numbers and strength, extended their dominion towards the West, spread their colonies far and wide, subjugated Italy, founded Rome and the Roman empire, at length entirely overturned the Jewish state which had been restored after the termination of the Babylonian captivity, the second temple being destroyed by Titus Vespasian; and that in the present day, professing the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, which they were the first of all nations to embrace, they hold the dominion over all Europe, Esau detaining in captivity his brother Jacob, at least as far as regards the tribe of Judah, till his Messiah Ben David shall appear.

Secondly :—That the prophecies of the prophets against *Esau*, *Edom*, *Seir*, *and the cities of Edom*, especially those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Obadiah, have not yet received their full accomplishment: for that, though the house of Esau has experienced some particular judgments of God,

on account of the injuries at different periods of time inflicted upon Israel; yet the final vengeance on account of that last and greatest injury, the destruction of the second temple by Titus, and the transportation of the Jews into captivity, in which they are still most opprobriously detained, is yet impending over it, to be executed in the time of the Messiah; that this is foretold by the prophets in all their denunciations of the severest plagues against the house of Esau, the cities of Edom, and Mount Seir, which all belong to Rome and the Christians; and that the fate of Christians at that time will be far more dreadful than that of Mahometans. Abarbanel particularly says: "The slaughter of the Turks in the future battle, will not be so great as that of the Christians; for many of the Turks will escape," according to Isaiah lxvi. 19; but of the Christians, Obadiah says: "There shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau[2]."

Another author, noticing these same opinions of the Jews, expresses his sentiments in equally strong, but more measured terms:—

"The singular tradition among the Jews, which has been connected with Edom, is, (says Sharon Turner,) that when the twelve tribes were destroyed by the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Edomites increased greatly in numbers and strength, extended their dominions toward the West, and spread their colonies far and wide. This was most probably the fact, and so far the Jewish Rabbins may be right in their memorial history. But when they add, that the Romans were one of their colonies, and that a descendant of Esau founded the city on the Tibur, and

[2] Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 231. Second edit. 1830.

that their final conqueror Titus was one of his posterity, by whom their nation and temple were subverted, we are startled by assertions, which nothing else confirms; and wonder how such a notion became a part of the learned mind of the public teachers of the nation. This derivation has not only been the belief of eminent Rabbins; but they add to it an expectation, that the full accomplishment of the final prophecies against Edom will yet be effected in the destruction of Rome, and of the Christian state which has issued from it."

To this passage is appended the following note, affording the necessary authorities for such an extraordinary statement:—That Tyre was the caput filiorum Esau, and that the Idumeans were Romans, is the assertion of Rabbi Solomon; and Bartolocci, quoting this, adds, that it is the sententia communis among the Jews. (Bibl. Rab. i. p. 547.) Rabbi Solomon's gloss on Numb. xxiv. 18, 19, says, "Edom, that is Roma." So in Lament. iv. 22. The Targum, in some Venetian editions, to "He will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom," adds, "impious Rome." Hence R. Kimchi says, "Whatever the prophets mention of the destruction of Edom in the latter times, the Jews understand and explain of Rome." Kimchi, in Obadiah. He says, "Though we are dispersed and subjected to the Ismaelite power (the Arabian Saracens), yet our principal captivity may be considered as under Edom (meaning the Roman Empire), because that has driven us away, and laid waste our sanctuary." They write, that Titus Vespasian sprang from the lineage of Esau. Hence the Messech Gittin, c. v., calls him the descendant of Esau. And because Rome afterwards became Christian, they now apply the term also to its Christian dominions. The tale

or tradition in their Gorion Chronicle, and other ancient books, is, that Tzepho, a grandson of Esau, contended with Jacob's sons about his burial till it came to warfare; that Tzepho was taken prisoner by Joseph, and kept in the dungeons of Egypt while the viceroy lived, but on his death escaped from that country, and settled in Campania, in Italy, and raised a kingdom there, and was the real first king of Rome. (Buxtorf's Lex. Chald. p. 30[3].)

The summary of these Rabbinical statements is, that a people speaking a Semitic idiom, came by sea and landed on the South West Coast of Italy; that they became powerful there, and proceeding northward, took possession of Rome, which first attained to greatness under their dominion. It is impossible not to be struck with the close coincidence of this statement with the native Roman accounts, that the dominion of the Tuscans commenced at Tarquinii; that, proceeding from thence northwards, they established themselves firmly beyond the Apennines; that Rome fell into their hands, and under Tarquin became more famous and powerful than it had ever been before. "What has made the name of the first Tarquin ever memorable is, (says Niebuhr,) that with him begins the greatness and splendour of the city. His works, and the building of the Capitoline temple, declare with an irresistible voice, that Rome, under her later kings, was the capital of a great state." (Vol. i. p. 355. 390.)

Tarquinii, a city of South Etruria, and situated on the sea-coast, was always considered by the Tuscans themselves as the head of its twelve cities, and the source of their political institutions and religious ceremonies; whereby, says

[3] Turner's Sacred History of the World, vol. ii. p. 525.

Muller (i. 72), is plainly expressed the opinion of the people that their forefathers had arrived by sea, and had not come from the north of Italy.

The government, also, of the Edomites, corresponds in a most remarkable degree with that of the Tuscans. In Gen. xxxvi. there is mention made of eleven dukes of the Edomites, with a king at their head. At the time of Moses, says Jahn, their eighth king was on the throne: eleven princes were subordinate to him, so that the king was no more than the chief of twelve princes (Hebr. Com. b. ii. sect. 10). The government of the Edomites, says Rosenmuller, was an elective monarchy, as is evident from the catalogue of the eight kings; not one of whom was succeeded by his own son (Schol. in Gen. xxxvi. 39). Among the prophetic denunciations against Edom, it is said, "As to her nobles, not one shall be there whom they might call to the kingdom; and all her princes shall utterly fail" (Isaiah xxxiv. 12).

In Italy there were three distinct federal unions of the Tuscans; one in Campania, another in Etruria Proper, and a third beyond the Apennines. In each of these unions, there were twelve states with a lucumo or duke (in Tuscan, lauchme) at the head of each state: the twelve ducal families chose from among themselves a king; the dignity was elective, and limited by a powerful aristocracy [4].

We possess no information concerning the religion of the Edomites, except that it was idolatrous: the gods of Edom are referred to in a general way (2 Chron. xxv. 14),

[4] Muller, vol. i. p. 365. Ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege, singulos singuli populi lictores dederint (Liv. i. 8). Lucumones in tota Tuscia duodecim fuisse manifestum est: ex quibus unus omnibus imperavit (Servius in Æn. viii. 475. x. 202).

but I am not aware of a single instance in Scripture where an idol of Edom is mentioned by name. Josephus, however, incidentally makes mention of an idol 'Coze' (Antiq. xv. 7), and I think it supplies a link of connexion with the superstitions of Italy. Many of the Tuscan cities derived their names from the national deities. Mantua was so called from Mantus, the Pluto of the Etruscans; and Cupra, from the Tuscan Juno, Cupra. Herculaneum derived its name from the more general deity, the Hamite Hercules. Now it is not at all impossible that the Tuscan city Cosa, or Cossæ[5], may have derived its name from some deity akin to the Idumean Coze. Strabo thus notices the city in question: Next to Populonium comes the city Cossæ, a little above a bay of the sea; it is built on a lofty hill: below lies the port of Hercules (lib. v). Hercules appears to have been the universal patron saint of the Hamite sailors. Strabo mentions several ports dedicated to him: Alyzia, a city in Acarnania, and Cnossus, in Crete, had both of them harbours sacred to Hercules (lib. x). The ruins of Cosa bear the Tuscan mark of rectangular stones; but the lower part of the wall, as much as might serve for a basement, is constructed in the polygonal style (Muller, i. p. 250. Micali, Plate x).

These curious coincidences in the domestic and external relations of the Edomites would seem to lead us to some definite conclusions concerning the Tuscans; but, on this assumption, we should certainly have a right to expect that, if we ever became more nearly acquainted with the habits of this people, we should discover among them clear proofs of an acquaintance with general science and with architec-

[5] In Latin Cosa, in Greek Κοσσαι.

ture in particular, for which the Tuscans were so remarkable. Thirty years back, our knowledge of Edom was absolutely nothing; but since that period, the labours of successive travellers have brought to light some interesting particulars.

Petra.—The discovery of Petra, the capital of Idumea, by Burckhardt, and the illustration of the prophecies against Edom in consequence of that discovery, are well known to the public through the popular treatise of Dr. Keith[6]; yet in a late Review of the translation of Laborde's Journey through Arabia Petræa, the writer still speaks of that interesting city in terms of wonder and astonishment. He calls it "that wonderful city which Burckhardt had discovered amongst the mountains of Edom—that monumental miracle which beyond all hope suddenly reappeared, as it were, in the wilderness—a new 'vox clamantis in deserto,' to proclaim the literal and visible fulfilment of some of the Scripture prophecies, which had hitherto appeared the most obscure and incomprehensible[7]."

The capital of Idumea is thus described by the travellers quoted by Dr. Keith:—A narrow and circuitous defile, surrounded on each side by precipitous or perpendicular rocks, varying from 400 to 700 feet in altitude, and forming for two miles "a sort of subterranean passage," opens on the East the way to the ruins of Petra. The rocks, or rather hills, then diverge on either side, and leave an oblong space, where once stood the metropolis of Edom, deceived

[6] I quote from the fifteenth edition of his Evidence from Prophecy, 1837.
[7] Quarterly Review, No. cxvii. for July, 1837.

by its terribleness—where now lies a waste of ruins, encircled on every side, save on the north-east alone, by stupendous cliffs, which still show how the pride and labour of art tried there to vie with the sublimity of nature. Along the borders of these cliffs detached masses of rock, numerous and lofty, have been wrought into sepulchres, the interior of which is excavated into chambers, while the exterior has been cut from the live rock into the forms of towers, with pilasters, and successive bands of frieze and entablature, wings, recesses, figures of animals, and columns. Yet, numerous as they are, these form but a part of "the vast necropolis of Petra." "Tombs present themselves, not only in every avenue to the city, and upon every precipice that surrounds it, but even intermixed almost promiscuously with its public and domestic edifices; the natural features of the defile grew more and more imposing at every step, and the excavations and sculpture more frequent on both sides, till it presented at last a continued street of tombs." The base of the cliffs wrought out into all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonades and pedestals, and ranges of corridors, adhering to the perpendicular surface; flights of steps chiselled out of the rock; grottos in great numbers, "which are certainly not sepulchral;" some excavated residences of large dimensions, in one of which is a single chamber sixty feet in length, and of a breadth proportioned; many other dwellings of inferior note, particularly abundant in one defile leading to the city, the steep sides of which contain a sort of excavated suburb, accessible by flights of steps; niches, sometimes thirty feet in excavated height, with altars for votive offerings, or with pyramids, columns, or obelisks; a bridge across a chasm now apparently inaccessible; some small pyramids hewn out of the rock on the

summit of the heights; horizontal grooves for the conveyance of water, cut in the face of the rock, and even across the architectural fronts of some of the excavations; and, in short, the "rocks hollowed out into innumerable chambers of different dimensions, whose entrances are variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated with every imaginable order of architecture," all united not only form one of the most singular scenes that the eye of man ever looked upon, or the imagination painted—a group of wonders perhaps unparalleled in their kind—but also give indubitable proof both that in the land of Edom there was a city where human ingenuity, and energy, and power, must have been exerted for many ages, and to so great a degree, as to have well entitled it to be noted for its strength or terribleness, and that the description given of it by the prophets of Israel was as strictly literal as the prediction respecting it is true (Keith, p. 192).

With respect to the numerous sepulchral excavations in the rocks which enclose and protect the city, Dr. Keith remarks:—One engraving of M. Laborde is peculiarly striking, as indirectly exemplifying the unique character of the scenery, by which, at a glance, Petra is identified, and distinguished from any other city that ever existed. The design of the picture is to represent an isolated column; but the back ground exhibits to view "a part of the valley of Moses" (Ouadi Mousa), with the high rocks in the more distant perspective "pierced with thousands of excavations" (percés de milliers excavations), p. 199. But the same engraving would serve equally well to illustrate the scenery of a Tuscan valley described by Micali:—That part of the valley of the river Marta, which is situate a little to the south-east of Toscanella, is a dell girt in by lofty rocks, in

which are a very great number of excavations presenting one uniform appearance (in queste rupi stesse si veggono incavate grandissimo numero di grotte); they differ only in dimensions, and doubtless, collectively, constituted a single necropolis (vol. iii. p. 107).

Of all the ruins of Petra, the mausoleums and sepulchres are among the most remarkable, and they give the clearest indication of ancient and long continued royalty, and of courtly grandeur. Their immense number corroborates the accounts given of their successive kings and princes by Moses and Strabo, though a period of eighteen hundred years intervened between the dates of their respective records concerning them (Keith, p. 194). Of these mausoleums, the Khasne, or, as the natives call it, the treasury of Pharaoh, is one of the most important; and may well be compared, for the labour bestowed upon it, with the tomb of Porsenna at Clusium. The natives pretend that it was the residence of a prince; but, says Burckhardt (p. 425), "it was rather the sepulchre of a prince, and great must have been the opulence of a city which could dedicate such monuments to the memory of its rulers."

For a particular description of this immense bas-relief sculptured out of the mountain, I must refer to the original authors; but will make a remark on the style of architecture. The pillars are all of the Corinthian order; "the half-pediments, which terminate the wings of the building, are finished at the top with eagles, which, combined with a style of architecture differing little from the Roman, can leave no doubt that this great effort of art is posterior to the time of Trajan's conquest" (Irby and Mangles). There can be no doubt, says the Reviewer before mentioned, that these gentlemen are right in their idea that this work is of the time

of Trajan, or later. The style is even more florid than anything we know of that day; but if that be so, a majority of these sculptured mountains must be equally modern: for the same style may be said to run through all (Quarterly Review, No. cxvii. p. 119). As a matter of course, some of these monuments must be of a more recent date than others; yet I cannot believe that the Roman style was first introduced into Edom at the time of Trajan's conquest: it would certainly be much nearer the truth to say, that the Edomites had taught the science of architecture to the Corinthians and Romans many ages previously; for, according to the Roman legend, the father of the Tuscan Tarquin came from Corinth: and according to the Rabbis, the Tuscans themselves were a colony from Edom.

Of the tombs hitherto discovered, it is natural that the greater number should consist of those, which offer to the traveller's notice a splendid façade in the front of the rock; from the dangers of the place, it was quite impossible to think for a moment of making excavations for the purposes of farther discovery; yet one instance occurs of a sepulchral cave internally ornamented like those so often found in Tuscany. The discovery was made in consequence of the dilapidations caused by time, which drew the attention of the traveller, and afforded admission through some broken and irregular openings: "Without any thing to indicate it, except some irregular and broken openings, we found a tomb, the interior of which is calculated to excite attention, because it is unique in the valley, where, as I have already remarked, the monuments in general, however rich externally, present nothing in the interior except coarsely chiselled walls. It is unnecessary for me here to explain the merit of the architectural details of this excavation; the

drawing gives a sufficiently exact idea of them to render every other description superfluous." (Laborde, p. 188.) With this engraving of "The interior of a tomb," given also in Keith, should be compared the sixty-fourth plate of Micali, which represents two sepulchres of Tarquinia excavated in the tufa rock; they are in the same style as the Idumean, but much more highly ornamented. Micali, iii. p. 108.

It appears that the Edomites, as well as the Tuscans, had their histriones and theatres; the excavation that most excited our attention, (says Laborde,) was a vast theatre in the bosom of the mountain, surmounted, and, in some degree, sheltered by the rocks. To scoop out a theatre in the side of a mountain, seems to be an enterprise of infinite labour; but to form it thus from a rocky substance, is an enterprise still more astonishing (p. 162). There is a similar excavation at Sutrium, which Micali attributes, erroneously I think, not to the Tuscans, but to the later Romans: "The amphitheatre at Sutrium is not of Tuscan, but Roman workmanship; it presents however a wonderful sight; all excavated, as it is, out of the solid rock." Vol. i. p. 152.

That the primeval Edomites were a highly civilized and commercial people, appears from the following authorities which have been collected by Dr. Keith: "Petra," to use the words of Dr. Vincent, by whom the state of its ancient commerce was described before its ruins were discovered, "is the capital of Edom or Seir, the Idumea or Arabia Petrea of the Greeks, the Nabatea, considered both by geographers, historians, and poets, as the source of all the precious commodities of the East." The caravans, in all ages, from Minea, in the interior of Arabia, and from

Gerrha, on the gulf of Persia, from Hadramaut on the ocean, and some even from Sabea or Yemen, appear to have pointed to Petra as a common centre; and from Petra the trade seems again to have branched out into every direction, to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoe, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and a variety of subordinate routes, that all terminated on the Mediterranean. There is every proof that is requisite to show, that the Tyrians and Sidonians were the first merchants who introduced the produce of India to all the nations which encircled the Mediterranean; so there is the strongest evidence to prove, that the Tyrians obtained all their commodities from Arabia. But if Arabia was the centre of this commerce, Petra was the point to which all the Arabians tended from the three sides of their vast peninsula (p. 172). While splendid remains of ancient art give undoubted proof, that wisdom and understanding subsisted in the Mount of Esau after the age of the prophets, the first of modern philosophers [7] thus speaks of the wisdom of the Edomites in the earliest ages: "The Egyptians having learned the skill of the Edomites [8], began now to observe the position of the stars, and the length of the solar year, for enabling them to know the position of the stars at any time, and to sail by them at all times without sight of the shore; and this gave a beginning to astronomy and navigation."—"It seems that letters, and astronomy, and the trade of carpenters, were invented by the merchants of

[7] Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms.

[8] These Edomites were certainly Cushites; and the circumstance points to the highly important fact of a very early intercourse between the Cushites and Edomites, as in the case of Tirhakah at a later period. Compare Quart. Review, vol. xliii. p. 124. ff.; and above, Part III. ch. 1.

the Red Sea, and that they were propagated from Arabia Petræa into Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe" (p. 205).

The Tuscans, as already mentioned, were a naval and commercial people, who commanded the navigation of the Mediterranean; concerning the Edomites, we have no such direct testimony, but there is incidental evidence from which we may infer their naval character. "King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom; and they came to Ophir." (1 Kings, ix. 26.) This communication with the remoter East through the Red Sea, was not primarily due to the enterprising spirit of Solomon; the trade with Eastern India, which fell into his hands after the reduction of Edom by his predecessor David, and which so enriched Jerusalem, had been previously concentrated in Edom during its flourishing period, and contributed to the greatness of Petra, whose wonderful ruins have lately been discovered.

Tirhakah.—In classical authors there is no direct testimony to the Edomitish navigation westward; but there is reason to think, that the great conqueror Taracos or Tearcon was connected with this people. According to Jahn, "Tirhakah, Taracos or Tearcon, king of Cush, was one of the greatest heroes of antiquity; he not only ruled over the Arabian, and African or Æthiopian Cush, but also over Egypt, and is said to have pushed his conquests as far as the pillars of Hercules. Strabo states, that Sesostris, king of Egypt, and Tearcon (Taracos, Tirhakah), king of the Æthiopians, extended their expeditions as far as Europe; but Nebuchadnezzar, who is venerated by the Chaldæans,

even more than Hercules is by the Greeks, went not only to the pillars of Hercules (for so far, according to Megasthenes, had Tearcon penetrated), but marched through Spain to Thrace and Pontus." (Hebr. Com. vol. i. p. 145. 165.)

It was this great conqueror Tirhakah, who alarmed Sennacherib, king of Assyria, at the siege of Jerusalem. In the dynasties of Manetho preserved by Eusebius, he is called Taracos; and from the account of Megasthenes, preserved in Strabo (lib. xv.), where he is called Tearcon, it is evident that he had acquired great warlike fame (Rosenmuller in Isaiah xxxvii. 9).

Tarak, or Taraco, was found by Mr. Salt on more than one monument in Nubia and Egypt, as well as by Champollion in the European collections. Tarak, or Taraco, is without doubt the Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, who came out to fight against Sennacherib (Quart. Review, vol. xliii. p. 154).

The twenty-fifth or Æthiopic dynasty of the kings of Egypt, according to Manetho, is thus given by Jahn at the end of his Hebrew Commonwealth; I have added the dates B.C.

Sabbacon	reigned 12 years	732—720
Sevechus (2 Kings xvii. 4.)	——— 14 ———	720—706
Tarachus (2 Kings xix. 9.) .	——— 20 ———	706—686

The Arabian Cush, in its original and limited sense, lay to the South-east of the Dead Sea; but it is evident, that Edom must have formed a part of the extensive kingdom of Tirhakah; he carried his conquests to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and was contemporary with Sennacherib about 700 B.C. Now Tarchon, who gave his name to Tar-

quinii, was the hero placed at the head of the Tuscan traditions; he was the founder of the twelve states in Etruria Proper, and also of those in the valley of the Po; the whole Etruscan confederacy is referred to him (Muller, i. 73). But Tarchon, which is only the Latin form of the name of this hero, was written Tarchu in the original Tuscan orthography (TARCHU nelle iscrizioni, giusta la forma primitiva, Micali, vol. i. p. 116); and this approaches sufficiently near to the other forms, Tarachus, Tirhakah, &c., to lead us to suppose, that the Tuscan Tarchon was in some way connected with the Cushite Tirhakah, and that the Tuscans preserved some indistinct recollection of the event. "I suspect," says Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 377, "that there was a connexion between the Roman legend of Tarquin, the assumed supreme head of all Etruria, and the Etruscan one of the conqueror Tarchon, the founder of Tarquinii." Certainly, the difference between the commonly received dates of the Eastern Tearcon, and the Italian Tarquin, is not so great as to render this impossible, particularly when we remember, that the Roman antiquarians themselves differed by six Olympiads on the era of the foundation of Rome; to say nothing of Ennius, who antedates it by more than a century (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 264, ff. see also his account of Tarquin). Tearcon reigned 706—686; and, according to our histories, the father of Tarquin was driven out of Corinth and settled at Tarquinii, 660 B.C. This, too, is just the period pointed out by the Rabbis for the Edomitish colonies spreading westward: the power of Edom increased, as that of Israel declined, in consequence of the two captivities in 720 and 606, B.C.

If the Cushites of Tirhakah, who must have come by

sea, and have spoken a barbarous tongue, did actually make a settlement at Tarquinii, this circumstance would fully account for the very singular fact, that Negro or Ethiopian figures occur among the paintings in Tuscan sepulchres. In a passage already quoted, relating to the tombs at Tarquinii, the acknowledged city of Tarchu, Sir W. Gell states: "In the outline of the face, the men represented in these tombs, bear a strong resemblance to the Negro, or to the Ethiopian figures of Egyptian paintings." (Compare Micali, plate 90.) We find, in Polybius, vestiges of an obsolete tradition, that a race of black men lived on the banks of the Eridanus: "There is no need to add to our description of this river the many sad and tragical fables with which the Greeks have filled their histories; of the fall of Phaeton; the tears of the Poplars; and that race of *black men* who live upon the river, and are said *still* to wear the habit of mourning in memory of Phaeton's death." (Hampton's Polybius, b. ii. ch. ii.) In the next chapter I have attempted to determine the locality of the river Eridanus; in the above passage, Polybius seems to place it in Ethiopia, and Ovid (Met. ii. 236) connects the colour of the Ethiopians with the fall of Phaeton into the Eridanus. The following Idumean legend, which Laborde heard from Arabs on the spot, is connected with this subject:—"The tradition, the origin of which it would be interesting to discover, prevailing amongst the Arabs concerning these reservoirs (near to Ameimé in Idumea), is to this effect. In former times, the king of the negroes came to ravage this country with innumerable troops. He had already, it was said, driven before him the whole of the inhabitants, when, having arrived in the plain of Ameimé, he wished to quench his thirst in these cisterns; bending

down to the surface of the water, after the manner of the Arabs, he fell in. One of his guards, who ran to assist him, fell in also; and another, endeavouring to rescue the latter, met with the same fate. Thus the whole army was swallowed up, and the rock received the name of Macbert el Abid. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the cistern would not contain a hundred persons; but traditions, especially those of the southern countries, do not attend very strictly to the rules of probability" (p. 209).

It appears to me that a slight trace of Tirhakah's connexion with Italy may be found in Scripture. Commentators unanimously agree in stating that the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah is one of the most obscure portions of prophecy; but they refer it, in a primary sense at least, to the destruction of Sennacherib's army: in the last verse of chapter xvii. the Assyrian is all but mentioned by name. Rosenmuller considers that the passage xvii. 12.—xviii. 7. forms one complete and distinct section, of which the argument is "the defeat of Sennacherib, and Tirhakah's embassies to the remotest nations to announce the event." The nation to which Tirhakah sends the messengers, and which is so particularly described by the prophet, Rosenmuller places in the interior of Africa; I suspect it was situate in Italy, for reasons which have already appeared. We learn from Megasthenes, in Strabo, that Tarachus, or Tearcon, penetrated as far as the pillars of Hercules; and we hear tidings of Tirhakah in Italy (Chittim) under the name of Tarchu, or Tarchon; also in Spain (Tarshish), the ancient capital Tarraco is called a Tyrrhenian city, Tyrrhenica Tarraco. The account of the nation to whom the messengers are sent is, in Rosenmuller's translation, an exact and graphic description of the old Tyrrhenians in Italy. "Ite

nuncii celeres ad gentem inaccessam et asperam, ad populum formidabilem ..... cujus terram fluvii inundant." With this description compare Muller's account of the Tyrrhenians: The earlier Greeks were accustomed to build their cities at some distance from the coast, through a dread of the Tyrrhenian piracies; but the Tyrrhenians always settled on lofty promontories, from which they could command a view of the sea over which they ruled: how harshly they treated their captives till a ransom was paid, we perceive from the Attic proverb "Tyrrhenian bonds" (vol. i. p. 83). The country in question was a land of rivers; and whether with Rosenmuller we translate "which rivers inundate," or render it according to Bishop Lowth, "which rivers nourish," the description is equally applicable to the Tyrrhenian territory, which was ποταμοχωστος, or artificially inundated for the purpose of enriching the soil. In the more complete and important sense, Bishop Horsley and Mr. Faber apply the last verse of chapter xviii. to the future restoration of the Jews by a maritime protestant nation; and they evidently incline towards England; but I shall not look farther than Italy, even for the later and more important fulfilment of the prophecy; for the Rabbis themselves state that their nation will ultimately return to Canaan in a Venetian fleet. "The daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift" (Psalm xlv. 12). That Venice was the daughter of Tyre, see below, section *Tyrrheni.*

It seems to have been a common idea both among the ancients and moderns, that the Tuscans were a powerful nation long before the Romans, and previously to the period of the Tarquins[10]: to speak correctly, however, the

[10] Thuscorum, ante Romanum imperium, late terra marique opes patuere (Liv. v. 33).

name of that early people was Tyrrhenians;—their history will be given farther on.

Corinth.—Near the south-western point of the neck that joins Peloponnesus to northern Greece, and within the same rich plain in which Sicyon stands, a mountain-ridge, scarcely three miles long, rises to a height remarkable even in a country of lofty mountains. The summit is at the northern extremity: three sides are precipices almost perpendicular; and, even on the fourth, ascent is difficult. Little beneath the pointed vertex is a plentiful source of pure water, which, so situated, might help the poets to the fancy that there the winged horse Pegasus, drinking, was caught by Bellerophon. This most advantageous, and nearly inexpugnable post, by the name of Acrocorinthus, became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of Corinth, which, as early as Homer's time, was noted for wealth acquired by commerce. For, by land it was the key of communication between northern and southern Greece; and by sea it became, through its ports—one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian gulf—the emporium for all that passed between the East and the West, as far as Asia on one side, and Italy and Sicily on the other. Bellerophon, one of its early princes, acquired by marriage the kingdom of Lycia in Asia (Mitford's Greece, ch. i.).

From this description it is evident that Corinth was one of the most influential rock fortresses in the possession of the Hamites; and we should accordingly expect it to occupy an important place in their history. The fact that one of its early princes acquired the kingdom of the Solymean Lycians, points to an ancient connexion between the Corinthians, Lycians, and Italians; and gives a colouring

of probability to the later story that a nobleman of Corinth acquired by marriage the kingdom of Rome. Anticlides, in Strabo (lib. v.), says, that some Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbrus joined the Tyrrhenians in their way to Italy: it is equally probable that Corinth was one of the places which Tearcon or his captains visited on the voyage from the East; and that a Corinthian noble of the old Hamite race, upon the victory of the democratical party, seized the opportunity of escape which was afforded by these eastern navigators.

As to Corinth being called the home of Demaratus, a hint for explaining this might perhaps be derived, says Niebuhr, from the resemblance between the earthen vases of Tarquinii and of Corinth, which leads us to infer that there was some peculiar intercourse between these two maritime cities; and perhaps some Corinthian of the same name did actually at one time or other reside in Etruria, and gain celebrity (vol. i. p. 369). In the Roman polity established by Servius Tullius, the Mastarna of the Tuscans, the horses of the knights were maintained at the expense of the viduæ, heiresses and widows, just as in Corinth (Cicero de Rep. ii. 20); this is certainly, says Muller, a very remarkable coincidence (vol. i. p. 380).

According to one account, the adventurers who settled in Italy were Mysians under Tarchon and Tyrrhenus, sons of Telephus, their king; so that here Tarchon comes direct from Mysia to Italy. In the story of Demaratus, Tarquin's father was a Corinthian noble, who, arriving in Italy with a princely fortune and retinue, married into the ducal family at Tarquinii; consequently his son Tarquin, a native born Tuscan, *inherited* the dignity of Lucumo or Duke of Tarquinii; but he was *elected* king of the Etruscan

Union, whose capital was then at Rome. Although Niebuhr argues that Tarquinius Priscus was not a Tuscan, but a Priscan Latin, as the name implies; yet he allows that the ordinary account of Tarquinius Priscus, like the Tuscan representation of Servius Tullius under the native name of Mastarna, clearly implies the notion that there was a time when Rome received Tuscan institutions from a prince of Etruria, and was the great and splendid capital of a powerful Etruscan state (vol. i. p. 378).

Titus.—In Rabbinical phrase, the real first king of Rome was an Edomite, or, in more ordinary language, Tarquinius Priscus was a Tuscan. I proceed to show, in accordance with Jewish tradition, and apparently in opposition to our received histories, that Titus also, the conqueror of the Jews, was a Tuscan.

What information the Rabbis possessed concerning the Edomitish extraction of Titus, I cannot take upon me to say; but we are told by Suetonius that his great-grandfather, the oldest known member of the family, was called Titus Flavius Petro; and we learn from Muller that each of these names has been discovered separately among the ancient inscriptions in Tuscan sepulchres, and that the Tuscan form was TITE PHLAFE PETRU[11] (Appen-

[11] This Petru and the city Petra may possibly be derived from the same Cushite root; thus Pompeii is connected with the Tuscan name Pumpu. Compare Tarchu, Tarquinii, with Petru, Petrinum in Italy, and the Petrini in Sicily. There was a deme or ward of Petra in Hamite Corinth, when Demaratus, the reputed father of Tarquin, fled to Italy (Herod. v. 92). The Italian Petrinum, and Idumean Petra, are more likely to be related to some Hamite name, e. g. the Petrus (Pathros), Petrusim of Scripture, than to the Greek Petra, *a rock*. I may add here that Napata (El Berkel), the Ethiopian capital of Tirhakah, bears a striking resemblance to the Etruscan town Nepete: and that a son of Tarquin was named Titus.

dix to Book II. p. 419. 424). The commonly received account concerning Vespasian, the first of the family who raised himself from obscurity, is that his grandfather was a Reatine of low degree; but after his accession to the empire, says Suetonius, the genealogists, to his great amusement, accommodated him with a pedigree in deducing his family from Flavius, the founder of Reate, and one of the companions of Hercules (Sueton. in Vespasian. c. xii.). The ancient ruins of the Reatine district are all in the polygonal, not in the rectangular, style of building (Micali, i. p. 207); so that this fabulous genealogy of the times of Hercules would make Vespasian a Hamite of Pelasgian, and not of Tuscan, descent; but the ordinary report, that Titus Flavius Petro was a Reatine, evidently meant to represent him as a Sabine of Japhite origin; which opinion is sufficiently refuted by the evidence of the name itself. Suetonius, however, has preserved another account (c. i.), though he gave it but little credit; which carries us at once upon Tuscan ground. I must not, says he, withhold the statement, though I have not been able to authenticate it, that Petro's father came from the Transpadane district, and engaged in contracts for farming out the agricultural labourers, who annually swarmed from Umbria into the land of the Sabines; and that, in consequence of this employment, he settled in the Reatine district, and married there. The Transpadane region formed a part of the northern Tuscan union, which stretched along the valley of the Po; according to one tradition, Mantua, on the Transpadane side, was founded from Perusia, in the sepulchres of which occur the names of Titus and Petro (Muller, vol. i. p. 137. 424).

"Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas."—Georg. iii. 12.

Tyrrheni.—Besides Edom, Tyre and Philistia bear an important part in the concerns of Italy, not only in past history, but for times to come. Isaiah, foretelling the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, says (xxiii. 12), "Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Sidon: arise, pass over to Chittim, there also shalt thou have no rest." And the Rabbis apply all the prophecies concerning Tyre and Philistia to Venice, as we have seen that they do those concerning Edom to Rome. To meet this view on the side of classical history, we may connect the Tyrrheni with the people of Tyre, and the Philistina Fossa with the Philistines.

From the paronomasia used by the prophet Zechariah, "*Tyre* did build herself a strong *tower*" (ix. 3), צור מצור, it would almost appear that Tur, Τυρος, signifies a tower or fortress; so that the common derivation of the name Tyrrheni, from tower-builders (Dionys. i. 26), is not, after all, so very improbable. The later island city was still one of the principal fortresses of the Hamites: although built on a precipitous rock, its walls were 150 feet high, and of a corresponding thickness (Arrian. de Exped. Alex. ii. 21). It has been often remarked that the Etruscan family names terminated in *ne*, as those of the Romans (the Fabii, Claudii, &c.) ended in *ius;* e. g. Larth and Arnth Pursne (in Latin, Lars and Aruns Porsenna): Ceicne (Cæcina), &c. But I think that the same remark may be extended to national names: thus, from the city or district Tur, the inhabitants would be called by the Tuscans Turne; in Greek, Τυρρήνοι; in Latin, Turini. According to Niebuhr, Tuscus is only a variation of an original form Turinus: Turnus, prince of the Tyrrhenian Ardea, is nothing else than the Latin form of Tyrrhenus; and the old Latin form

of Tyrrhus must have been Turrus or Turus: in Greek he is called Τυρρήνος (vol. i. p. 191). If the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians who landed at Spina, from Thessaly, were the Arneans and Cadmeans already mentioned, they must have come originally from Tyre itself. Spina, says Niebuhr, was *the predecessor of Venice* in the dominion over the Adriatic, and is termed a Pelasgian city. With the Rabbis, the Tyre of Scripture is now represented by Venice: in this view, Venice, which succeeded Spina in the command of the Adriatic, is made the representative of the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenian settlements. Dr. M'Caul, in his recent translation of Kimchi's Commentary on Zechariah, observes: Abarbanel absurdly endeavours to prove that Tyrus here (ch. ix.) means Venice (p. 101).

As the Rabbis attach great importance to the connexion of Venice with Tyre, it is worth while to consider the origin of that Italian city. "The celebrated name of Venice or Venetia was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy. Before the irruption of the Barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe though obscure refuge in the neighbouring islands. This emigration is not attested by any contemporary evidence; but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia retired to the isle of Gradus; those of Padua (Antenor's Patavium), to Rivus Altus or Rialto, where the city of Venice was afterwards built" (Gibbon, ch. xxxv). "The commercial and trading spirit of Venice is her inheritance from her parent city, Patavium; which having been founded, according to tradition, long before

Rome, by some Trojan emigrants, escaped uninjured amid all the wars and disorders of Italy,—attained to extraordinary wealth,—and, in the age of Tiberius, was the first city of Italy next to Rome" (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 163). Of Antenor, the founder of this city, Virgil says:—

> Ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
> Teucrorum.

Now Niebuhr includes the Trojans, Tyrrhenians, and Venetians, under the common name of Pelasgians, which at once places the Venetians among the Hamite nations. I shall, therefore, state, upon the authority of the Rabbis, that the Veneti of Antenor were Tyrrhenians or Tyrians; and, consequently, that Venice is not only the prophetic representative, but also the lineal descendant of Tyre.

I suspect that the Ardeates constituted another colony of Tyrians or Canaanites in Italy. Virgil says that the ancient name of their city was Ardua, which was afterwards modified into Ardea:—

> locus Ardua quondam
> Dictus avis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen.

The Scholiasts have variously explained the origin of the name, but I would suggest that it is derived from Arvad—that is, Arudi, the son of Canaan (Gen. x.). The principal settlement of this Canaanite was in the island Aradus; the natives of which, in classical history, are called Aradii. The Arvadites, or Arudim, were intimately connected with Tyre: "the inhabitants of Zidon and Arud were thy mariners, O Tyrus" (Ezek. xxvii. 8); and they were the parent stock of the Tyrrhenian Ardeates in Italy; for they also had passed over to Chittim. Niebuhr says, that in

a history of the origin of Florence, compiled, perhaps even before the time of Charlemagne, from strange popular legends and poetical sources, the subjects of Turnus, the Ardeates, are called Turini—that is, Tyrrheni: the same name presents itself in that of Turnus, and of the shepherd Tyrrhus; and was borne without any change by a family of the Mamilian house. Ardea is designated as a Pelasgian city by the poet, who styles it an Argive one founded by Danae. Now if Ardea is admitted to be a Tyrrhenian city, the legend which represents Saguntum as a colony of the Ardeates, extends the spreading of the Pelasgians as far as Spain; where, moreover, the ancient capital Tarraco has been considered as a Tyrrhenian city (vol. i. p. 43).

Niebuhr has observed: It is to the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians, not to the Etruscans, that we must apply the lines of Hesiod (Theogon. 1011—15) concerning Agrius and Latinus ruling over all the renowned Tyrrhenians (vol. i. p. 43). And again: The superiority maintained by the religion of the Tyrrhenians, and by the arms of the Cascans, when the two nations united, is implied in the line,

Sacra Deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto;

only that Latinus himself is to be considered as a Tyrrhenian (p. 188). Now the LATIN name is so connected with Rome in the title of the modern Roman empire and Roman church, that it is interesting thus to have traced the word Latinus to a Tyrrhenian or Tyrian source; for the Rabbis say that Tyre was the chief of the children of Esau. The Hamite name of Latium was probably Lat; from which the inhabitants would be originally called Latne, and afterwards Latini.

Philistini.—The Hebrew term for Philistia, the subsequent Palestine, is Phlist, פלשת; and the name of the people in Tuscan would be Phlistne, which the Latins softened into Philistini, as we see in the case of the Philistina Fossa. This foss or canal is in the neighbourhood of Venice, and it affords a very curious and independent confirmation of the Rabbinical opinion, that the Philistines and Venetians are involved in the same fate. In a prophecy concerning the second restoration of the Jews, and which therefore yet remains to be fulfilled, Isaiah says: "The Lord shall set his hand *again the second time* to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy, also, of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the West" (xi. 14). Upon this passage Rosenmuller remarks: The Septuagint have rendered the last words by "they shall fly in the ships of strangers;" by which they understood the vessels of the Philistines and Phenicians. The passage was taken in the same sense by Abarbanel, "they shall fly on the shoulder of the Philistines; by which is meant the navy of the Philistines, *of the Genoese* and *Venetians*, which shall bring back the Israelites from the West to the East."

It would appear from many passages of Scripture, that there was a close connexion between the Tyrians, Philis-

tines, and Edomites. In Amos (ch. i.), a common punishment is denounced against Tyre and Philistia, for delivering up their Jewish captives to the Edomites; and Edom is involved in the same doom. By the Rabbis, Tyre is called "the chief of the children of Esau;" and Tyre and Philistia are associated in a particular manner by the prophets[12]. Although Philistia itself is but a narrow district, the people of that race must have had great influence in the West; for through them the holy land became known to the Greeks and Romans, under the name of Palestine. According to native accounts, the Phenicians originally dwelt by the Red Sea; but migrating thence, they occupied the coast of Syria: this part of Syria, including the whole district as far as Egypt, is called Palestine (land of the Philistim), Herod. vii. 89. The words of Ammonius, as given by Prideaux at the year 129, afford some interesting particulars on this subject. The Jews, says he, are such by nature and from the beginning; while the Idumeans were not Jews from the beginning, but Phenicians and Syrians; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and to be subject to the same laws, they were called Jews.

This passage from Ammonius anticipates an objection which might be raised against the Rabbinical theory of the origin of the Tuscans, on account of circumcision. About 129, B.C. John Hyrcanus conquered the Idumeans, and gave them their choice either to be circumcised and obey the law of Moses, or to leave the country: they chose the former, and became one people with the Jews (Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 9). Hence it is evident that in the second

[12] Jer. xlvii. Joel iii. Zech. ix.

century, B.C. the Edomites did not practise the rite of circumcision: at what time it became entirely obsolete is not known; but it is probable that the custom was never general among them.

Mr. Faber, in commenting upon the passage of Isaiah xi. 14, already quoted, says: The Bishop of Killala retains the common translation "they shall fly upon the shoulders," and supposes the passage to mean, that the Philistines should furnish the Jews with shipping, for the purpose of prosecuting their conquests westward. This seems to me unnatural. The Bishop defends his opinion on the ground, that the Philistines were most probably descended from the same ancestors as the Tyrians, that the colonies of the Tyrians were scattered throughout the isles of the West, and seated even beyond the straits of Gibraltar, and that thus their descendants will, agreeably to other prophecies, have the office assigned to them of conveying the Jews back to their own country in shipping. Though I believe that some western maritime Protestant nation will be instrumental in restoring a part of the Jews, I do not feel convinced that that circumstance is here alluded to [13]. Mr. Faber is openly at variance with Abarbanel, who explains the words "they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines," by the navy of the Genoese and Venetians (the shipping of the Hamite Papal Tyrians), which shall bring back the Israelites from the West to the East; neither do I think that this, or the phrases, "Tyre—ships of Tarshish," which are used in other places of Scripture, can be legitimately applied to a *Protestant* nation of *Japhite* origin, whether England or otherwise.

[13] General and Connected View of the Prophecies relative to the Restoration of Judah and Israel, vol. i. p. 139.

The judgment upon the prince of Tyrus, in Ezek. xxviii. is referred by Mr. Faber to the overthrow of papal Rome. He remarks:—Mr. Bicheno I believe to be right in referring this prophecy to the yet future era of the restoration of Judah, but I think him mistaken in supposing, that Tyre is the type of some great modern commercial nation. He argues, that the prediction cannot relate to the overthrow of papal Rome, because Rome is not a commercial city, and does not possess any naval power; and he censures Mr. Fraser for applying it, like myself, to the destruction of the Papacy. The argument, on which this censure is founded, is certainly inconclusive. If it prove any thing, it will prove equally, that the apocalyptic Babylon cannot be the papacy; because the apocalyptic Babylon is described like Tyre, as being a great commercial city, and as having many trading vessels out at sea (Id. vol. ii. p. 55). But, in my opinion, Babylon and Tuscan Rome have, equally with Tyre, a sufficiently naval character to satisfy the conditions of prophecy. The prophet Isaiah speaks of the Chaldeans exulting in their ships, ch. xliii. 14, on which passage Bishop Lowth gives the classical authorities. With respect to the naval character of Tuscan Rome, no authorities can be required; yet I will refer to the impression on their coins: "The head of Janus," says Niebuhr, "from the earliest times was stamped on the Roman As; the ship, on the reverse side, alludes to the maritime sway of the Tyrrhenians" (vol. i. p. 287). But the maritime feature of Papal Rome must be looked for principally in Tyrian Venice, which, at the formation of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom in 1815, was secured to Papal Austria. "The marriage which Venice annually celebrates with the Adriatic was (says Gibbon) contracted in

her early infancy. The ambiguous office of her twelve maritime tribunes, is explained by the tradition, that in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes or judges were created by an annual and popular election." (Gibbon, ch. xxxv.) In Ezek. xxviii. Tyre is represented, like Edom or Rome, as having once held the true faith, and afterwards declining from it; and the Rabbis look upon Tyre as "the chief of the children of Esau." Now Esau was brought up with especial favour in the household of Isaac; in his youth therefore he was necessarily brought by circumcision within the pale of the Church; but when he lost the blessing by selling his birthright, he was cast out as profane from the mountain of God. Mr. Faber observes upon the passage of Amos, "the remnant of Edom, and of all the nations upon whom my name hath been called, saith the Lord (ix. 12);" This expression is remarkable, and clearly shows us what kind of nations are intended. The mystic Edom and his confederate nations, are not pagans, ignorant of the very name of the Lord, but professed worshippers of him. Against these nominal and corrupt believers of the Roman Edom, the wrath of God is denounced in almost every prophecy, that treats of the restoration of the Jews (vol. ii. p. 222).

The prince of Tyre is thus described by Ezekiel: "Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyre, Thus saith the Lord God: because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God (xxviii. 2)." On this passage Mr. Faber observes: "The Man of Sin, who is described in a manner precisely similar, is, in profession, (as Bishop Newton observes,) a Christian, and a Christian

Bishop. His sitting in the temple of God plainly implies, his having his seat or cathedra in the Christian Church; and he sitteth there as God, especially at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth adoration" (vol. ii. p. 19). The parallel, that has been drawn between the customs of Pagan and Papal Rome, is well known; but I have not seen noticed the resemblance that obtains between the sacerdotal government of the most ancient and of modern Rome. I have before observed, that the ancient king of Rome was elected from the families of the Lucumones, but these Lucumones themselves were a warlike sacerdotal caste, and constituted a priestly aristocracy. "From these facts we may infer with certainty," says Muller, "that in Etruria the civil supremacy of the nobles was closely combined with their possession of the priestly office: the Etruscan polity bore the stamp of an exclusive dominant caste, which formed a sacerdotal aristocracy" (vol. i. p. 374). The election of a king-priest, or high pontiff, out of the sacerdotal aristocracy, and his subsequent adoration, are customs not peculiar to modern Rome, but were common to it with the ancient Tuscans and the primeval Cushites; the latter circumstance is worthy of some notice, as Tirhakah, whom we have already traced to Italy, was king of the mighty Cushites in Arabia. According to Diodorus, "the laws of the Ethiopians differ not a little from those of other nations, particularly in the choice of their kings; for the priests select the most distinguished individuals of their own order; but of those thus selected, whichever the god, as he is carried about in festal pomp, shall lay hold of, him the people elect for their king, and instantly fall down and

offer him divine homage, the sovereignty being thus conferred upon him by the providence of the gods" (lib. iii. c. 6). It was a peculiar and characteristic idea of the Italian people (says Muller), to clothe in the habiliments of Jupiter the victorious general or ruler, and thus to make him the representative of the supreme god. Those robes, as well as the sceptre and diadem, belonged properly to the divine array of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the capitol, but they were brought out for the above-named purpose. From a similar religious feeling, the person, that was honoured with a triumph, coloured his face or whole person, like the (Cushite sacerdotal) nobles of Meroe, with vermilion, according to an old national custom; the painting of Jupiter's statue in the capitol with vermilion was specially intrusted to the Censor in later ages. Many of the figures on the lids of the sarcophagi in Tuscan sepulchres, have their faces painted with vermilion, which custom has been explained with great probability by Gori, as signifying a kind of Apotheosis (Muller, vol. i. p. 374). The Rabbis have their own explanation of the importance attached to this colour. They say that the Roman Emperors were dressed in scarlet, because Esau was of a red colour; and that the Cardinals also wear a red dress for the same reason (Basnage, book xi).

The Ethiopians (says Diodorus Siculus) are said to have been the inventors of pomps, sacrifices, solemn assemblies, and other honours paid to the gods. The Tuscans under Tarquin have the credit of introducing these solemnities into primitive Rome; and no one will feel inclined to refuse precedence on this point to the sacerdotal government of modern Rome.

From the facts mentioned in this chapter it would almost

appear, that Esau joined himself to the Cushites of Arabia, as Ishmael had previously become identified with the Mitzrites.

Three Abrahamic Races.—To Abraham it was promised, that he should be the father of many nations, and that kings should come out of him. In the direct line was his grandson Jacob, the father of the Israelites, and to whom, in particular, was granted the blessing; collaterally there were two, and only two other heads of Abrahamic races who received a blessing,—Ishmael, the brother of Isaac; and Esau, the brother of Jacob. From Ishmael sprang the Arabian race, in which, under the character of Saracens, or rather of Mahometans, was marvellously fulfilled his share in the promise to Abraham. From Esau were derived the Edomites, at one period a powerful nation, but which never could be placed in comparison with the Arabians for multitude; as Romans, however, the Edomites present a complete uniformity and correspondence with the other two great Abrahamic races. How amply, under any point of view, has the promise to Abraham been fulfilled; but of how many more nations and kings must he have been the father, if his posterity does indeed include the Israelites, Mahometans, and Romans!

It was not to be expected that the Rabbis would make use of the word Christians, but their application of the term Edomites, in that sense, has created some surprise. Their ordinary denomination for the members of the Latin Church is Edomites, as Ishmaelites is that for Mahometans; both these names occur in Abarbanel's commentary on the passage of Zechariah: "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the

Lord of hosts" (xiii. 7). The interpretation of this passage most appropriate in my eyes, is (says Abarbanel), that the words "my shepherd" are spoken of the prophet of the Ishmaelites, whom they call Mahomet, of whom they say, that God sent him into the world to feed his sheep, the children of men; and that the words "the man my fellow," are spoken of Jesus the Nazarene, for, according to the sentiments of the children of Edom, and their faith, he was the Son of God, and of the same substance, and therefore he is called according to their words, "the man that is my fellow." Abarbanel here plainly and positively asserts, that these words express the Christian doctrine of the deity of the Messiah (M'Caul on Kimchi's Zechariah, p. 170. 173).

Concerning Esau it is said, "Thou shalt serve thy brother; but it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck" (Gen. xxvii. 40). This prophecy was partly accomplished in the days of Jehoram, when Edom recovered her independence; but its complete fulfilment took place under Titus, "the descendant of Esau," when he subverted the Jewish nation and polity by the conquest of Jerusalem, and the destruction of their temple. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases the passage of Esau's blessing: And it shall be when the sons of Jacob attend to the law, and observe the precepts, they shall impose the yoke of servitude upon thy neck; but when they shall turn away themselves from studying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold then thou shalt shake off the yoke of servitude from thy neck. Now, at no period of their whole career, was the study of the law, or the practice of their religion, at so low an ebb among the Jews, as at the final dissolution of

their state. "Had the Romans delayed to come," says Josephus, "against these execrable persons, I believe either the earth would have swallowed up, or a deluge would have swept away their city, or fire from heaven would have consumed it, as it did Sodom; for it brought forth a generation of men far more wicked than they who suffered such things" (Jewish War, v. 13). "Whilst they trampled under foot every human law, they ridiculed religion, and scoffed at the oracles of the prophets as the fictions of impostors" (Ibid. iv. 6).

Nature of Prophecy.—Since the discovery of the ruins of Petra, an opinion seems to have arisen that the prophecies concerning Edom have received not only a most unexpectedly complete, but also a final accomplishment. On the texts, "There shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau;—Edom shall be cut off for ever," Dr. Keith remarks: The aliens of Judah ever look with wistful eyes to the land of their fathers; but no Edomite is now to be found to dispute the right of any animal to the possession of it, or to banish the owl from the temples and tombs of Edom. But the house of Esau did remain, and existed in great power, till after the commencement of the Christian era,—a period far too remote from the date of the prediction for their subsequent history to have been foreseen by man. The Idumeans were soon after mingled with the Nabatheans; and in the third century their language was disused, and their very name, as designating any people, had utterly perished; and their country itself having become an outcast from Syria, among whose kingdoms it had long been numbered, was united to Arabia Petræa. Though the descendants of the twin-born Esau and Jacob have met

a diametrically opposite fate, the fact is no less marvellous and undisputed than the prediction in each case is alike obvious and true. While the posterity of Jacob have been "dispersed in every country under heaven," and are "scattered among all nations," and have ever remained distinct from them all; and whilst it is also declared that "a full end will never be made of them;" the Edomites, though they existed as a nation for more than seventeen hundred years, *have*, as a period of nearly equal duration has proved, *been cut off for ever;* and while Jews are in every land, *there is not any remaining*, on any spot of earth, *of the house of Esau* (p. 215).

These remarks are very just and obvious in a limited sense; but since I find myself, as to the general principle, so unexpectedly supported by the Rabbis who continue out the prophecies of Edom to Rome, I shall not hesitate to repeat here what I have said in my "Essays on the Antediluvian Age." In that short sketch of the antediluvian church, I had occasion briefly to discuss the nature and object of prophecy; and I endeavoured to establish from the expression of St. Peter (Second Epistle, i. 20), which I translate "Not any prophecy of Scripture is of individual fulfilment," that there are certain ανακυκλωσεις, or successive and more complete fulfilments of the same prophecy. "Hence the Christian may still read concerning the deliverance of Christ's church from her mystic enemies—Assyria and Edom—in the same page which formerly comforted the Jew with the assurance of a temporal deliverance from those persecuting kingdoms. Indeed, these adversaries of the Jews are spoken of in such august terms, as show in themselves that the language has but a very subordinate reference to a Sennacherib, &c. We at once behold a

greater power than an Assyrian king in the following apostrophe: "Thou shalt pronounce this parable upon the king of Babylon, and say:—

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!
Art cut down to the earth, thou that didst subdue the nations!
Yet thou didst say in thine heart, I will ascend the heavens;
Above the stars of God I will exalt my throne.
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High;
But thou shalt be brought down to the grave, to the sides of the pit."—Isaiah xiv. Bp. Lowth's Version.

"Remember, O Jehovah, against the children of Edom the day of Jerusalem, when they said, Down with it, down with it, even to the foundation thereof. O daughter of Babylon, that art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee, as thou hast served us" (Psalm cxxxvii. 7, 8).

"When Sennacherib railed and blasphemed against the Most High in his attack upon Jerusalem (2 Kings xix.), the sentence passed upon him was, "Behold, I will send a blast upon him, &c. And it came to pass that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand." Isaiah, prophetically describing this supernatural destruction of the Assyrian, says of Christ (xi. 4):—

"He shall smite the earth with the blast of his mouth,
And with the breath of his lips he shall slay *the wicked one*[14]."

And again (xiv. 24):—

"Surely as I have devised, so shall it be:
And as I have purposed, it shall stand;
To crush the Assyrian in my land,
And to trample him on my mountains."

[14] In the Chaldee paraphrase, "he shall slay the wicked one," is rendered, "he shall destroy *the wicked Roman*."

"Of the first passage (xi. 4) St. Paul has made an application to the Man of Sin (2 Thess. ii. 8); and thus identified this Assyrian with the Babylon of Rev. xviii. The fate of Sennacherib's army leads us to suppose that the Man of Sin, also, will meet with a supernatural destruction in the holy land, near to Jerusalem."

And again: "The prophecy of our Lord (Matt. xxiv.) concerning the introduction of Christianity at the subversion of the Jewish polity, is even more applicable to the complete establishment of Messiah's kingdom at the end of the times of the Gentiles. Its primary fulfilment, in the destruction of Jerusalem, presented a fiery ordeal to the men of that generation; but its fuller completion in the utter destruction of the fourth, or Roman empire, will prove a furnace seven times more heated, to try the faith of another generation. Almost every particular that is mentioned by our Lord among the signs of his former coming, will be repeated in a new cycle during the coming of his great and terrible day: nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold; there shall arise false Christs and false prophets; *Jerusalem shall again be compassed with armies of the Roman empire; in the holy place shall be seen a still greater abomination of desolation, even the idolatrous ensigns of a nominally Christian Church;* the Gospel must first be published among all nations; and as a snare shall that day come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth [15]."

Mr. Faber observes, that, as far as matters of this kind

[15] Antediluvian Age, Essay iii. For the distinct fulfilment of the prophecy (Matt. xxiv.) at the end of the Jewish age, see Essay vii. note *b*.

are capable of proof, the opinion of Bishop Horsley, or at least something very like his opinion, seems to be proved. I have an unfashionable partiality, says the Bishop in his letter to Mr. King, for the opinions of antiquity. I think there is ground in the prophecies for the notion of the early fathers, that Palestine is the stage on which Antichrist, in the height of his impiety, will perish. I am much inclined, too, to assent to another opinion of the fathers, that a small band of the Jews will join Antichrist, and be active instruments of his persecutions. And I agree with you that it is not unlikely that this small part of the Jews will be settled in Jerusalem, under the protection of Antichrist (Connected View, vol. ii. p. 111). The subject of "Antichrist past and to come," in this point of view, is discussed in my eighth Essay.

Many Protestant writers think that there will be no national restoration of the Jews to the land and privileges of their forefathers; and they argue that the numerous sublime promises in Scripture, relative to the future glories of the Jews and of Jerusalem, are to be understood of the Christian Church, of which the Jewish Church was a figure. But Dr. M'Caul, who ably contends for the grammatical, in opposition to the figurative, acceptation of these prophecies, observes: "It behoves all Protestants to consider how they will advocate a principle essentially necessary to the very existence of Roman usurpation, especially when that principle is, like most of the Romish peculiarities, an innovation, and a departure from Christian antiquity. The writers who were nearest the apostolic times, and who lived in the purest period of the Church's history, were the most likely to know the apostolic mode of interpretation; and, if apostolic tradition is to be found anywhere, it is to be looked

for amongst them, rather than amongst those who were further removed. As the Church grew older, the pretensions of Rome grew bolder; and the grammatical interpretation, as being inconsistent with those pretensions, was naturally rejected as a heresy. The Roman Church's claim to universal supremacy, necessarily pre-supposes a figurative interpretation of the prophecies relating to Israel; for, if Jerusalem be the city of the Great King, and is yet to be rebuilt and glorified, and to become the religious metropolis of the world, Rome sinks into insignificance; she is neither the mother nor the mistress of all the churches, and all her pretensions vanish. The hopes of Israel's future restoration and glory supply the very strongest arguments against all the claims of Rome; whereas the so-called spiritual interpretation is the only mode whereby she can evade the overpowering mass of prophetic evidence against her usurped dominion [16]." In this passage we plainly perceive, under a new form, the original struggle between Edom and Israel for the superiority; and it is foretold that the warfare will be kept up until the prophetic period—the times of the Gentiles—shall be fulfilled; until the four great Hamite empires shall be entirely superseded by the fifth or spiritual kingdom of the Messiah.

" It is worthy of notice," says Mr. Faber, " that the learned among the Jews have ever considered Edom as a type of Rome; whence they interpret those prophecies, which foretel some future calamities about to befal Edom, as relating, not to the literal Edom, but to his antitype Rome; or, as they might more accurately have expressed

[16] Two Sermons on the Conversion and Restoration of the Jews, by Dr. M'Caul. 1837.

themselves, to the Roman empire; for Edom being a kingdom, his antitype must be a kingdom likewise. Thus R. Kimchi asserts, that "whatever the prophets have spoken of the destruction of Edom in the last times, they have spoken concerning Rome;" and that, "when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption to Israel." The same commentator applies the thirty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, which, like the prophecy (Isaiah lxii. and lxiii.) now under consideration, literally treats of the desolation of Edom and the Lord's sacrifice in Bozrah, to the downfall of Rome; and cites with marks of approbation the Chaldee exposition of the ninth verse, "The streams of Rome shall be changed into pitch." It is sufficiently evident, indeed, that the two predictions are so entirely parallel to each other, that they must both relate to the same events. The thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth chapters compose one prophecy, as the sixty-second and sixty-third compose another. They both equally treat of the restoration of Judah, and the downfall of the antichristian Roman confederacy under the mystical name of Edom. The only difference between them is, that in the one the overthrow of Antichrist is first mentioned, and in the other the restoration of Judah. R. Kimchi applies, in a similar manner, the whole twenty-fourth chapter of Isaiah to the destruction of Edom and the return of Israel, declaring it to be a prophecy yet unaccomplished; and what he understands by Edom, he shows by his commentary on the sixteenth verse: "Whoever inquires into the destruction of Rome, let him diligently examine the whole book of the Lord." Both he and R. Solomon Jarchi use exactly the same language when paraphrasing the eleventh verse of the twenty-first chapter of Isaiah: "The burden of Dumah, which is Edom," says R. Jarchi: "The

burden of Rome," says R. Kimchi. The Targum on the twenty-second verse of the fourth chapter of Lamentations, is composed on precisely the same principle of mystic interpretation: "And after thine iniquity shall be accomplished, O congregation of Zion, thou shalt be delivered by the hand of Messiah, and Elias the high-priest[17]; and the Lord shall no more cause thee to migrate into other countries; and in that time I will visit thine iniquity, O Rome, which art built in Italy, and art full of the troops of the sons of Edom." In fine, R. Abraham Sebah, commenting on the first chapter of Genesis, says, that, While the sixth millennary of the world is running out and drawing near to a close, Rome shall be destroyed, and the Jews shall return from their dispersion.

"In thus closely connecting together the downfall of the Roman Antichristian faction, and the restoration of Judah, the Hebrew doctors seem to me to be perfectly right; an attentive perusal of the ancient Scriptures, not to mention those of the New Testament, must unavoidably lead every person to the same conclusion. Such prophecies as are unchronological, rarely foretel the return of the Jews without declaring, that at the very same season, there shall be a tremendous overthrow of God's enemies. These enemies they sometimes describe as a great confederacy of many nations: at other times they designate them by the general name of Edom. What then are we to understand by the power or powers termed Edom, at the yet future period of the restoration of Israel? This we are abundantly taught, in a manner that can scarcely be misunderstood, by the two chronological prophets, Daniel and St. John. At

[17] The future return of Elias and Enoch is discussed at large in my Antediluvian Age, Essay ix, and in Dr. M'Caul's Two Sermons already quoted.

the close of a certain grand period, indifferently styled three times (or years) and a half, forty-two months, and 1260 days, all which equally mean 1260 natural years, the last or Roman beast and his little tyrannical horn, are to begin to be destroyed. At the close of the very same period, the power of the Jews is to cease to be scattered; or, in other words, is to begin to be restored. At this time, likewise, a power noted for atheism, infidelity, and tyranny; a power, which should spring up after the era of the Reformation, is to come to its end, none being able to help it, after having first invaded Palestine, and taken Jerusalem. And at the close of these same 1260 years, St. John declares, that the great Roman beast under his last head, his colleague the false Romish prophet, or the two-horned beast (which answer to the ten-horned beast, and the little horn of Daniel), and his confederates, the vassal kings of the Latin empire, shall be totally overthrown by the word of God at Megiddo in Palestine; and that the winepress shall be trodden in a country 1600 furlongs in length, which is the precise measure of the Holy Land. Now, since the restoration of the Jews is to commence at the end of the 1260 years; and since the unspeakable time of trouble, during which the Roman beast under his last head, the atheistical king, the false prophet, and the confederated Latin sovereigns, will be overthrown, is to be contemporary with the restoration of the Jews; since, likewise, whenever the Jews are restored, a confederacy of God's enemies, more than once mystically denominated Edom, is to be utterly broken by the victorious Messiah at his Second Advent; it will necessarily follow, that what Isaiah terms Edom, must be the confederacy of the ten-horned beast, the little horn, and the atheistical

king; that is to say, the mystic Edom must be, what the Hebrew doctors have rightly judged him to be, some grand confederacy formed, during the last days, within the limits of the Roman empire. And at this conclusion they might most assuredly arrive, merely by comparing together different parts of their own Scriptures. St. John, indeed, both confirms the conclusion, and throws a yet stronger light on the subject; but the conclusion itself might have been equally drawn, had he never written the Apocalypse; and, accordingly, we find that it actually has been drawn, not merely by Christian, but by Jewish, commentators. On the whole, we may safely venture to assert, that the vintage, described by Isaiah, is the same as the vintage predicted both by Joel and St. John; they equally relate to the overthrow of Antichrist and his associates" (Faber's Connected View, vol. i. p. 312).

The Tuscans were remarkable for numerical speculations relating to the length of the life of man and of nations. Their history, which embraces the whole course of time, was included in a series of secles (sæcula). A natural secle was measured by the duration of man's longest life. The first secle of a state ended with the death of the citizen who lived the longest among the persons born on the day it was founded; the second lasted until none was left of all who were living at the close of the first; and so on for the rest. The duration of every people was fixed beforehand; a definite number of these natural secles, which varied however for different nations, constituted the secular day, to which the existence of the nation was limited. The Etruscan secular day, it is said, consisted of ten; the Roman day, of twelve secles. According to the Etruscans, the human race of the present creation has eight such days

assigned to it; each day to a fresh people; and during the continuance of one people, prophecy is to be in honour; during that of another, in abasement. They taught, that the expiration of each secular day was announced from heaven by wonders and signs, intelligible to them; so was the close of every natural secle, ten of which, of unequal length, made up the great day of the Etruscans; the signs, by which each of these epochs had been announced, were recorded in their history. See Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 135.

The augury of the twelve fated vultures of Romulus, was a poetical mode of expressing an Etruscan prophecy, that a period of twelve secles was allotted to Rome. "This prophecy," says Niebuhr, "was never forgotten; and in the twelfth century of the city, which is divided between the fourth and fifth of our era, filled all the adherents of the old religion with alarm; as every thing was visibly verging toward ruin, and their faith was opprest. According to Varro's Fasti, the twelfth secle, if each, after the custom of the later Romans, was assumed equal to a century, would end with the year 446; but although the train of calamities that broke in with the fifth century of our era, gave an air of probability to this interpretation in the minds of those who were then living, a Tuscan aruspex would, nevertheless, have rejected it. As an average number for secles of an indefinite length, determined by the life of man, and as an astronomical cyclical period, a hundred and ten years were properly the measure of a secle. This brings the sum of the years contained in twelve secles to 1320, and the end of the term assigned to Rome, to an epoch when it may be said with strict truth, that the city of Romulus ceased to exist. According to Varro's chronology, the twelfth secle would have ended with A.D. 566; according to Cincius, to

whom the Etruscan would probably have given the preference, with A.D. 591, the first year of the pontificate of Gregory the Great. In either case, the time expires in the latter half of the sixth century of our era; when the city, after having been more than once taken by storm, saw the remnant that the sword had spared, wasting away by hunger and pestilence; when the senate and the old families which were still left, were exterminated by Totila, so that scarcely the name of senator, or a shadow of a municipal constitution survived; when Rome was subjected to the degrading rule of an Eastern exarch, who resided at a distance from her; when the old religion, and along with it all hereditary usages, were abolished, and a new religion was preaching other virtues, and another kind of happiness exclusively, and was condemning sins unreproved by the old morality; when the ancient sciences and arts, all old memorials and monuments, were looked upon as an abomination, the great men of ancient times as doomed to hopeless perdition; and Rome, having been disarmed for ever, was become the capital of a spiritual empire, which, after the lapse of twelve centuries, we have seen interrupted in our days" (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 221).

The termination of another great secular day of Rome, of twelve more secles, under its new character of a spiritual empire, as mentioned by Niebuhr, cannot fail to remind the reader of the 1260 years, which are so closely connected with the destiny of spiritual Rome in the Scriptures. The notion that the prophecy in Rev. xiii. relates to the descendants of the ancient Tuscans, seems to be confirmed by their mysterious dealing in numbers: "Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man: and

his number is six hundred three-score and six." Niebuhr, as we have seen, considers that a period of a hundred and ten years was properly the measure of an Etruscan secle; he probably fixed on this period, as the nearest round number which arises from dividing 781 by 7; for, it is said, that the first seven secles amounted to seven hundred and eighty-one years. The seven natural secles, however, necessarily varied in length, and they are stated to have ranged from a hundred and five to a hundred and twenty-three years; but since the first four are known to have contained exactly a hundred and five years each[18], and since they all depended on the length of human life, it is something more than a mere probability, that as three actually ranged from a hundred and five upwards to a hundred and twenty-three years, the remaining three of the ten Etruscan secles should fall as much below a hundred and five, and so give an average of a hundred and five, and not of a hundred and ten years. In this case, the twelve secles, allotted by Etruscan tradition to the existence of Pagan Rome, would exactly correspond with the 1260 years of spiritual Rome. If we use this measure instead of Niebuhr's, in calculating the twelve Roman secles, we arrive at the following results: According to Varro, Rome was founded Olymp. vi. 3, and its twelfth secle would close A.D. 506; but according to the chronology of Cincius, which Niebuhr says an Etruscan would prefer, the era of the city was fixed to Olymp. xii. 4, and the secular day of Pagan Rome would terminate 531. The commencement of the 1260 years, which are connected with the destiny of spiritual Rome in the Scriptures, is

[18] Censorinus de Die Nat. xvii. 6. quoted by Muller, vol. ii. p. 332.

very variously stated by commentators; but I may mention, that the year 533, in which the Bishop of Rome was declared the head of all the Churches by the Emperor Justinian, has met with favour from several expositors, as it brings the fated period to a close in the memorable year 1793. I am not using this argument to fix the date of the Christian prophecy, which is not likely to be clearly known till the completion of all the chronological numbers connected with it; my object here is merely to render probable the notion, that those 1260 years, and the number of the name, point at the mystical dealing in numbers by the earlier Tuscans; and that a more thorough acquaintance with Tuscan and Edomitish antiquities, may throw a new and unexpected light upon the Scriptures.

The limited pages of a Manual is not the place to discuss the important subject of Etruria, which has itself already filled numerous volumes; enough has been said for the object of this work: scholars will of course recur to the original sources, amongst which, in future, must not be forgotten the Hebrew Bible, and its native interpreters.

Whoever inquires into the destruction of Rome, let him diligently examine the WHOLE book of the Lord. Kimchi on Isaiah xxiv. 16.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SABINES.

"Their fables and disfigured legends show that the Romans arose from the coalition of several nations which were wholly distinct from one another."
Niebuhr.

The Pelasgians were the most skilful and daring seamen of antiquity: under the protection of Hercules, to whom most of their harbours were dedicated, they penetrated to the remotest place in which any opening for traffic presented itself. This part of their character is sufficiently understood; but it seems, in general, to have escaped notice that they were equally enterprising by land[1]. Under the protection of their deity Hercules, to whom also the principal commercial roads were dedicated by the general name of Hercules' way, these pioneers of civilization in their pursuit of gain forced a passage through woods and over mountains, in regions which are generally considered to have been only the haunts of wild beasts or

[1] See the extracts from Strabo, Part iii. ch. i. init.

savages in those remote ages. The best known instance among these sacred ways, which however formed only one particular line of road in the wanderings of Hercules over the western continent, is that to which my subject now leads me in following out the inland history of the Curete Hamites in Italy.

In Iapygia, where tradition relates that Hercules slew the giants, are shown a remarkable well and a hallowed foot-print of the god: indeed, in various parts of Italy, there are many memorials of Hercules on the roads which he traversed (Ritter's Vorhalle, p. 351). The most important of these is the sacred road, called Hercules' way, which passed out from Italy over the Alps; every wayfarer thereon, whether native or foreigner, was placed by divine sanction under the protection of the inhabitants, to see that he should receive no harm; if any injury befel the traveller, a fine was imposed on the natives of the particular district in which the mischance occurred [2]. To Hercules, the patron deity of this insured high road, sacrifices were offered at the commencement of the journey. Propter viam sacrificare, which Festus thus explains: "Propter viam fit sacrificium, quod est proficiscendi gratiâ, Herculi aut Sanco, qui scilicet idem est deus." These passages concerning the very ancient hospitality and religious regard for foreign travellers in the midst of Europe, says Ritter, is very remarkable; for it pre-supposes an early commercial intercourse among these inland tribes, and shows that, as far as this Hercules' way extended, it passed through a people distinguished for their fear of God and obedience to law, in a manner which puts to shame the much vaunted later

[2] Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. c. lxxxvi. p. 175. Beckmann.

Greeks and Romans, who looked upon all other people as barbarians; whilst these mis-called barbarians of the North exercised justice with scrupulous care towards the stranger who was placed, equally with themselves, under the most holy protection of their deity. The point from which the road began, and the particular places it passed through, we know not; but traces of it may be discovered through the Alpine and German north, as far as the Hyperboreans and Cimmerians (Ritter, p. 361—368).

Whatever uncertainty exists as to the direction of this road, I think it must be entirely removed in favour of that route which would satisfy the two following conditions: viz. (1) that it led into a country which contained vestiges of the old Curete worship: and (2) which afforded a valuable and attractive object of merchandise to the Pelasgians.

(1.) Festus, by identifying Hercules with Sancus, evidently thought that the Sabines followed the same mode of worship as the Curete Pelasgians; the fact, however, is clear enough from the name of the Sabine capital, Cures; from the name of the people themselves, Quirites; and from that of their chief deity, the sun-god Quirinus. That the Sabines paid adoration to the Sun, we learn from the testimony of Varro, who says: The altars which the Sabine king Tatius erected at Rome, show their Sabine origin in their name; for, according to the annals, they were dedicated to Ops, to Flora, to Vedius, to Jupiter and Saturn, to Sol, to Luna, to Volcanus and Summanus with Larunda, to Terminus, to Quirinus, to Vortumnus, to the Lares, to Diana and Lucina (De Ling. Lat. v. 74). The statement of Dionysius (ii. 50) nearly coincides with that of Varro: Tatius erected altars and chapels to the Sun and

Moon, to Saturn and Rhea; also to Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, Quirinus, and other gods whose names it is difficult to express in the Greek tongue.

Now the Courlanders of the present day, and the Prussian fishermen on the Curische Haf, call themselves by the old native name of Cures; but as we find the term Cures, Curetes, &c. in Greece and other countries, that circumstance can be adduced in proof of nothing further than the general fact, that the old Courlanders, the Sabines, Greeks, &c. all followed the same great system of Curete worship. The earliest notice of the Courlanders and Prussians, before their conversion to Christianity, represents them, like the Sabines, as paying adoration to the sun. "The worship of the people consisted chiefly in the adoration of the sun, moon, and stars, and also of different animals which were held sacred in different districts. A perpetual fire burnt in the house of their kriwe, or high-priest" (Malte Brun, vol. vii. p. 4). "A manuscript, found in the secret archives of the Teutonic order at Konigsberg, contains some remarks on the religion of the ancient Prussians, and states that each tribe honoured some particular divinity: one the sun, another the moon, others different animals, &c. Like the Germans and Persians, they had neither temples nor idols, but holy places set apart for their religious rites within the precincts of consecrated groves, the *luci* of the ancient Latins" (Essai Critique, vol. i. p. 37. 81). For the honours they paid to deities, similar to the Roman Flora, Pomona, Epona, &c., see the chapter on the Lithuanians.

I suspect that the consecrated *luci* of the Romans were originally fire-groves, and contained a continually burning fire, like the *pyratheia* or sacred inclosures of the Curete

Persians (Strabo, lib. xv.); and that the *lucus* was so called *à lucendo*, i. e. from the sacred fire which was kept ever burning within it.

(2.) As it is not probable that the remote countries of Prussia and Courland were visited only as intermediate points and resting-places on the way to still more distant regions, I shall next consider whether they themselves afforded sufficient inducement for the Curete merchants of Italy to traffic and settle there.

According to Muller, the Tuscans, in their northern settlements on the Po, were engaged from remote antiquity in a considerable land trade with countries, of which we have but an imperfect notion from our very earliest histories. As a trace of such an intercourse, he alludes to the tradition of the sacred way over the Alps, which was guaranteed by all the neighbouring tribes; but he states that the most convincing proof of an open communication from Tuscan Upper Italy, across the Alps into the North, is contained in the notices of the ancients concerning the traffic in amber (vol. i. p. 280). It is at least evident that this highly-prized substance afforded to the Pelasgians and Tuscans an important object, both for their home and foreign trade. In the Odyssey (xv. 458), Homer describes a merchant offering for sale, in a Greek island, a golden necklace set with amber; but that merchant was a Phenician. In another passage (xviii. 291), a golden necklace of elegant workmanship set with amber, and highly splendid, is mentioned in a list of presents to a lady (Mitford, vol. i. p. 156). But there must have been a considerable demand for amber within Tuscany itself; for, besides other uses, it formed a part of the funereal pomp, and is still found within the ancient Etruscan sepulchres. Micali states

that, according to the rank or means of the deceased, the body was decorated with rich vestments, and with ornaments of gold, silver, or amber elaborately wrought; and that in the sepulchres of Vulci and Tarquinia—but particularly at Puglia and Basilicata—have been found numerous pieces of amber cut into various forms (vol. ii. p. 242. and iii. p. 221).

In the earliest accounts which we possess concerning the natural history of amber, it is always mentioned in company with a river Eridanus, and in connexion with some legend relating to the worship of the sun; therefore in determining the locality of that river, it is necessary that all these conditions should be combined; viz. amber, native on a river named Eridanus, in a country occupied by sun worshippers or Curetes. It is also probable that the Hercules' way, mentioned above, had some connexion with the river Eridanus; as Pherecydes states that Hercules himself passed by this river in the course of his journeying from Greece to Tartessus (Muller, vol. i. p. 281).

It would appear that amber was first introduced among the Greeks by Phenician or Pelasgian merchants, who reported that it came from a river Eridanus, and that the natives ascribed its origin to a supernatural cause, as described in the legend of Phaeton and the Heliades, though the story was doubtless much improved, or rather obscured, in its Greek version. In the first instance, the river Eridanus was placed on the Adriatic coast, and the later Greeks were surprised at not finding amber on the banks of the Po; but as they became more intimately acquainted with that part of the world, the river withdrew into more remote and obscure regions: and Herodotus received with incredulity the account of an Eridanus, which produced amber, and

flowed into the northern sea among the Hyperborean nations. The increasing knowledge of the Greeks drove them out of their belief in an Italian Eridanus which produced amber; but, as they never formed any intimate connexion with the northern nations, they were not able to verify or disprove the existence of a northern Eridanus, although it was known that amber came from remote regions in the North. If we now consult the Roman writers, we find it allowed on all hands that amber was a natural production of the northern ocean, and was brought to Italy over land. Pytheas, the navigator of Marseilles, in the fourth century, B.C. states (according to Pliny, xxxvii. 2), that it was collected by the Goths, or Low Germans, on a northern estuary, and sold to the nearest Teutons or central High Germans: and Tacitus relates that the Roman demand for this article led to its collection by the Æstii on the Baltic, and its transmission over land to Italy. In the time of Pliny, the line of intercourse from the Baltic lay through Pannonia, to the Veneti on the Adriatic: and this must have been the line of passage in the days of Herodotus; for if the Phenicians had brought it by sea in the remotest times from the Baltic through the pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean, it is quite impossible that Herodotus should have expressed so plainly his doubts, not only concerning a northern Eridanus, but even concerning a northern sea. What we know for certain is, that in the age of Herodotus amber came by land from the Hyperborean nations on the Baltic; that it was found on the banks of a river Eridanus, which flowed into that sea; and that it entered, as a mysterious object of nature, into the mythology of the Hyperborean sun worshippers. That the Hyperboreans paid adoration to the sun, we learn among other authorities

from Cicero, who says that the principal Apollo, the son of Jupiter and Latona, was an Hyperborean: Apollo, Jove natus et Latonâ, quem ex Hyperboreis Delphos ferunt advenisse (de Nat. Deor. iii. 23). The fall of Phaeton, the child of the sun, into the Eridanus,—the lamentation for him by the Heliades,—and the conversion of their tears into amber, constitute a legend which can meet with a union of all its particulars only on the south-east angle of the Baltic, where we learn from Herodotus that there was an Eridanus; where we know that amber abounded from the earliest ages; and where the ancient inhabitants were sun worshippers: in this very country, as if to leave no room for doubt, amber is yet plentifully found; we meet with a river Radaune; and the present inhabitants on the Curische Haf still call themselves Cures, which name is a vestige of their ancient heathenism in paying adoration to the sun.

According to Muller (vol. i. p. 284), Electron, in the sense of amber, occurs in Homer: the legend of Eridanus and the Heliades is found in Hesiod; and he thinks that the land passage from the Baltic, which was frequented in the days of Herodotus, was already open in the time of Homer. His conclusion is, that even in the Homeric age amber passed through various German tribes to the Tuscans in Upper Italy, and, through the hands of the Tuscans, into Greece.

From vestiges of the Curete name still existing in those parts, and from the high value which was anciently set upon amber, I am inclined to believe that the insured Hercules' way which passed out of Italy over the Alps, led, at least in one of its branches, to the south-east corner of the Baltic. The Hamite Pelasgians, who settled on those northern shores, seem to have acquired the title of Hyper-

boreans, and established among the Prussians and Courlanders the Curete name and worship: but they also pointed out to these northern descendants of Japhet the way into fruitful Italy; and the Old Prussians, under the name of Sabines, introduced some of their own superstitions, customs, and languages, among the inhabitants of Rome. It is well known that the Latins were much indebted to the Sabines for their religious and social customs; or, in plainer terms, that the conquering Sabines forced their religion and usages on the subjugated people: Sabinorum etiam mores populum Romanum secutum, idem Cato dicit (Serv. in Æn. viii. 638). I shall now point out some Roman customs which were confessedly derived from the Sabines, and which coincide with remaining usages of the Lithuanian family.

Among the heathen every race of people held some particular animal in especial veneration. Tacitus informs us that the boar was thus distinguished by the Æstii: insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant. Among the Sabines, the wolf was held sacred; one of their tribes, having been led to its settlement under the supernatural guidance of this animal, was from it surnamed Hirpini; for in the language of the Sabines the wolf is called Hirpus. The Roman custom of anointing the door-posts of the bride with wolf's fat was taken from the Sabines, and originated in the sacred character which that animal possessed among them. The same creature holds also a conspicuous place in one of the oldest Roman legends; for a she-wolf is represented to have undertaken the office of foster-mother to the exposed twins.

Now it could hardly be expected that any race of men, at the present day, should look upon the destructive wolf

with religious veneration; yet vestiges of the ancient regard for this animal have been preserved among the Lettons and Courlanders, in perhaps the only way that it could possibly be done. In these countries, according to Malte Brun, hares, foxes, bears, and wolves frequent the forests and brushwood; but the last animal is the most common and the most destructive of any: yet it is a singular superstitious belief of the country people, that, if a hare or a fox passes the road on which a man is travelling, some disaster is about to happen; but if a wolf crosses him, it is a sign of good fortune (Malte Brun, vol. vi. p. 517. 533).

The Roman marriage ceremonial was adopted from the Sabines. The rape of thirty Sabine women, in the fourth month of the first year of the city, and before it was fortified, in order to obtain wives for the new colony of Romulus, is perhaps too inconsistent to keep its place in actual history[3]: as a poetical legend it has been variously explained; but I prefer that interpretation which considers it as a later attempt to ground upon an historical fact the Sabine custom of carrying off the bride from her father's house with the appearance of force. This custom is still followed among the Courlanders, Lettons, and Lithuanians. On the morning of the marriage the lady conceals herself to the best of her power, and the bridegroom, with the assistance of his friends, comes to the search, and at last carries off, in the manner of a triumph, the seemingly reluctant bride: the procession of young men with drawn swords gave an appearance of reality to the mimic assault (Essai Critique, vol. iii. p. 113). The ancient marriage ceremonies of the Samogitians, Courlanders, Lithuanians, and Prussians, and some

[3] Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 225. 286.

other of their ceremonies, says Malte Brun (vol. vi. p. 605), were not unlike those of the Greeks and Romans. Two friends of the bridegroom carried away the seemingly reluctant bride from her father's house, &c.

The condition of wives among the Sabines must have been very favourable at the time when the bride could address her mate, on first passing his threshold, with this customary formula: Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia. The Sabine word *gaius*, though still existing in the Lettish *gows*, was soon lost from the Latin language: Hesychius, and the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, have explained it by εργατης βους, a labouring steer; and this meaning can now be authenticated by means of Comparative Philology. The Sanskrit word *go*, in the masculine signifies a steer; and in the feminine, cow and earth. From this root the Greeks have formed distinct words for the two meanings, γη, earth; and βους, ox: the same takes place in Zend, but with an opposite change of letters: *zao*, earth; *gaus* and *gaos*, steer (Bopp, Comp. Gram. p. 145). The word *gaius* is evidently derived from the same source as the Sabine word *nero*, a brave man; which is cognate with the Sanskrit *narah*, and Zend *nairya*. These two instances, Gaius and Nero, would lead us to suppose that most of the old Roman names are significant, and that we must look for their explanation in the older languages, Sanskrit, Zend, &c.

Among the Sabines we find mention of a god, Semo Sancus, and of a corresponding goddess, Salus Semonia, or Segetia. Semonia is the classical form of the feminine of Semo, which, in the original rude orthography of the Sabines, was probably Semiene: we know historically that Neriene (bravery, heroism,) was a feminine derivative of

the Sabine word Nero, and that it was the name of the Sabine goddess of war, the wife of Mamers, or Mars[4]. The Salus Semonia of the Sabines corresponds exactly in name and attributes with Zemiennick, a deity of the Prussians; for I conceive that the root of these two terms was the same: Zend, zao, earth—dat. zeme; Lettish and Old Prussian, semme; Sclavonian, zemie; Lithuanian, zieme[5]. "The Lettons and Prussians had another deity whom they called Zemiennick, to whom, annually in October, they sacrificed a sow, a cock, a goose, and a calf, repeating, 'We give thee thanks, O Zemiennick, and offer up in sacrifice these animals, for that thou hast preserved us in health and safety through the past year, and hast blessed us with abundance of all things.'" Nous te rendons grace, O Zemiennick, et t'offrons ces animaux, pour que tu nous conserves sains et sauf pendant cet année, et nous procures abondance de toutes choses (Essai Critique, vol. i. p. 38).

In Lettish, the word Mani signifies delusion, juggling: manit, ap-manit, to delude, to juggle; and among the Lettons, the Mâni are malicious spirits which delight in doing men a mischief, by creating delusion. Pott thinks that these Mâni, or sprites of the Lettons, have not the most distant relationship with the Roman Manes; but that the word may be cognate with the Sanskrit maja, illusion, idealism, unreality of all worldly existence (vol. ii. p. 601). It, however, appears, that in Roman nurseries the name of

[4] Neriene Sabinum verbum est, eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo; qui erat egregia atque præstanti fortitudine 'Nero' appellatus est. Aul. Gell. xiii. 21.

[5] Besides Semo, Semonia, the root of the Sabine words *nero*, *nericne*, appears to have been in use among the Old Prussians, as is shown by the name Curische Nerung on the Curische Haf. See Part ii. ch. ii. [In these passages I had overlooked the German *nehrung*.]

certain goblins, or bugbears, was in frequent requisition among the old women to keep their little charge in order: these spectres were called Maniæ, and were at the least first cousins of the Manes. Festus thus describes them: Maniæ turpes deformesque personæ: Manias, quas nutrices minitantur pueris parvulis, esse larvas id est Manes dicit Ælius Stilo.

Again: Pott observes that the words *rumen*, *ruma*, in the sense of throat or swallow, appear to be connected with *ruminare* (ερευγειν, ructare); but, as meaning dug, they are perhaps related to the Lithuanian *raumu*, gen. *raumens*, dug, udder. With respect to the Ruminalis ficus, the ruma (mamma) lupæ, Roma, Romulus, it is at least certain that all these words are classed together in the mythical history of Rome (vol. ii. p. 284). Festus, under the word Ruminalis, informs us that *rumis* was an ancient term for mamma; and that the rustics in his day still called sucking kids subrummos: qui adhuc sub mammis habentur. And under the word Romulus, he tells us that this name was derived by some from the ficus ruminalis, and, by others, from the circumstance of his being nourished by the dugs of a wolf: quòd lupæ ruma nutritus est. Since the word ruminalis, and the goddess Rumina, are derived from *rumis* or *ruma*, it is evident that the letter *n* forms a part of the root; and that the Sabine ruma, and the Lithuanian raumu, gen. raumens, are the same word.

Quirinus was worshipped at Rome as a deified hero among the Sabines; and the high priest of the Old Prussians resided at Romowo, in Prussia, with the title of Kriwe. "The chief of their priests, who had the official designation of Kriwe, held his residence at Romowo, in

Prussia. Boleslas Chrabi having destroyed Romowo in the eleventh century, the Kriwe removed his abode to the interior of Lithuania. Allups, the last Kriwe, embraced Christianity at the beginning of the fifteenth century, asserting that his gods counselled him to it, because they were no longer able to protect him. It was the duty of the Kriwe to declare the will of the gods by oracular responses, and to give sentence in any disputes among the chiefs of the nation. The office was elective among the priests; and it was the custom for him to anticipate the infirmities of extreme old age by a voluntary death on a funeral pile." Le chef de leur prêtres, qui s'appelloit Kriwe, avoit sa résidence à Romowo, en Prusse. Il étoit élu par les prêtres, et quand il étoit parvenu à une grande vieillesse, il terminoit ordinairement ses jours volontairement sur un bucher (Essai Critique, vol. i. p. 45). Though I would not lay any stress singly on the coincidence of all these names, yet, supported as it is by so many concurring circumstances of language and customs, it certainly is not impossible that the titles Kri-we and Quiri-nus may have an affinity; and that the voluntary death by fire may be in some manner connected with the disappearance of Romulus in a fiery chariot, and his subsequent manifestation as the sun-god Quirinus.

The situation of Romowo is not precisely known: Malte Brun places it in the ancient and central province of Natangia, on the south of the Pregel (vol. vii. p. 2); at any rate it lay within the limits of the amber country, with which the Hyperboreans are traditionally connected. "This people were esteemed very sacred; and it is said that Apollo, when exiled from heaven, and when he had seen

his offspring slain, retired to this country. It seems he wept; and there was a tradition that every tear was amber.

> "The Celtic sages a tradition hold,
> That every drop of amber was a tear
> Shed by Apollo, when he fled from heaven;
> For sorely did he weep, and, sorrowing, passed
> Through many a doleful region, till he reached
> The sacred Hyperboreans[6]."—Apollon. Rhod. iv. 611.

Now according to Niebuhr (vol. i. p. 85), "there was an obscure conception that Rome itself was in the neighbourhood of the Hyperboreans (Heraclides in Plutarch Camill. c. xxii.);" but, instead of looking for another Rome in the North, he has taken the opposite course of placing the Hyperboreans in Italy. It appears to myself, however, much more reasonable to suppose that, in primeval times, a town Roma, or Romowe, existed in some part of the northern regions, than that the Hyperboreans, without any shadow of reason, should be dragged southward into Italy. The Sabine city, Cures, assuredly derived its name from the same root as the Cures and Curische Haf on the Baltic; and there is an equally probable chance that the same relation existed between the Italian Roma and the Baltic Romowe. "That Roma is not a Latin name," says Niebuhr (vol. i. p. 282), "was assumed to be self-evident; and there can be no doubt that the city had another, of an Italian form, which was used in the sacred books like the mysterious name of the Tiber." Romani ipsius urbis nomen Latinum ignotum esse voluerunt (Macrobius, iii. 9).

[6] Bryant, vol. v. p. 151

Dionysius (ii. 50), in recounting some of the Sabine deities, concludes with an "et cætera," because it was difficult to express the names of the Roman gods in the Greek tongue; but if the Sabines were related to the primitive Prussians, and if the Tuscans were a colony from Edom, it is quite impossible that the Roman mythology should be identical with the Grecian, or even have much in common with it; and this is the conclusion of the most learned philologists and antiquarians, though on very different grounds from those I have mentioned. "It is a most perverse proceeding," says Pott, "to which, however, we are broken in from our youth, to identify a number of home-sprung Italian deities with others of Greek origin. Italy is indebted to Greece for many things, and among them certainly for a few of her deities: but it was a much more frequent case that the Latin poets adopted only as materials for poetry, what never formed a part of the popular belief. Of many gods, the fundamental idea was borrowed as little as the name; but a motley addition of foreign attributes was ornamentally attached to native deities. Italy possesses no Olympus,—has little or no poetry in her mythology; therefore with respect to such deities as Saturn, Jupiter, Juno, Ceres, Diana, Liber, Venus, Mars, Neptune, Vulcan, Mercury, &c., which are characterized by native names having no affinity with Greek, the Romans of every period formed notions essentially different from those which the Greeks connected with the so-called corresponding deities. It was the work of a comparatively recent period, to bring together and run a parallel between the Greek and Roman mythologies; and, although this proceeding in the course of time may have had a slight effect on the religious belief of the people, it

was principally confined to the poetical creed of the educated Romans, just as the Scandinavian gods have been introduced into German literature by the poet Klopstock, as a delightful play of the imagination without any faith in their actual existence. To a Roman, the genuine Greek deities were—a phantom; they suited not his soil, his style of life, his feelings. On the whole, Rome received her religion from any quarter, rather than from Greece. The proof lies in many other points (compare Hegel, Philosophy of Religion, Part ii. p. 132), but also in the names of her gods. Some as Jovis, Jupiter, Juno, Janus, Diana, Vesta, are etymologically related to the Greek; but, as every one who has eyes can see, they were not borrowed; the greater part of them were completely different. Only a few appear to have been a translation from the Greek, as Dis for Πλουτων. Some others are actually borrowed and disfigured out of Greek forms; thus Hercules, Pan, Proserpina, Bacchus, Apollo, Pollux, &c. have nothing Roman about them, and betray their foreign origin under their disguise" (vol. ii. p. 32).

But even those Roman deities which are allowed to be common with the Greek, and derived from them, I suspect to have been rather an independent legacy bequeathed to these two Indo-European races by the previous Hamite Pelasgians. In one of the instances mentioned by Pott, viz., the Hamite Hercules, we possess a genuine Hamite form in the Tuscan Hercle; and I conceive, that the name is at least as much borrowed and disfigured in the Grecian form of Heracles, as in that of the Roman Hercules.

It has now become a difficult task to distinguish accurately between the deities of the Indo-European Sabines and those of the Hamite Pelasgians and Tuscans; and

many authors have occupied themselves, in an attempt to illustrate some evidently Hamite names by means of the rarer Indo-European languages, and particularly the Sanskrit. Notwithstanding the tempting similarity between Janus and the Latin words, janua, janitor, &c., we may be certain, that Janus was an Eastern Hamite deity, and for other reasons than merely his monstrous form. He is said to have come originally from Thessaly, a principal seat of the Pelasgians; and Ovid (Fasti, i. 240.) points to the ship on the reverse of the Roman As, as implying the arrival by sea, and therefore foreign origin, of Janus who occupied the obverse of the coin :—

> At bona posteritas puppim servavit in ære,
> Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.

Niebuhr supposes, that the profane sciences of Etruria were brought by the nation from the North, the seat of the gods (vol. i. p. 134); and his followers consider this circumstance, that the Tuscans believed the North to be the seat of their gods, as a strong confirmation of Niebuhr's hypothesis of the northern origin of the Tuscans. Now the whole of this reasoning rests upon a fragment of Varro, preserved by Festus under the word sinistræ aves, in which he explains the reason why *sinister* or eastern auspices, are of better omen than the *dexter* or western: à deorum sede cum in meridiem spectes, ad sinistram sunt partes mundi exorientes, &c. But divination by the flight of birds, was the peculiar art of the Sabines; a fact, which Niebuhr himself has noticed. He says: "By the East, the decrees of destiny were read in the stars; by Etruria and Greece, in the entrails of victims. In expounding the flight of birds, if the Etruscans did not altogether neglect it, the Sabines

were greater masters; but the peculiar secret of the Etruscans was the interpretation of lightning" (vol. i. p. 137). The passage of Varro, therefore, if it prove any thing, proves, that the Sabines believed the North to be the seat of their gods, and points to the northern origin of the Sabine nation.

Ancient authors have stated, and modern writers have repeated, that a spear (curis) stuck in the ground, was the chief object of veneration to the primitive rude Sabines; whereas the fact is, that the Sabines, as Curetes, were sun-worshippers, and belonged to that class of nations which did not conceive of their deities under material forms. The Tuscans were the first to introduce this grosser mode of worship into Rome. "The rites of religion," says Niebuhr, "which till then had been plain and simple, were clothed with splendour under Tarquin; in his reign, bloody sacrifices are said to have been introduced, and adoration to have been first paid to representations of the gods under human forms" (vol. i. p. 357).

As the Romans received most of their religious ideas from the Old Prussians and Edomites, it followed as a natural consequence, that their mythology was essentially distinct from that of the Greeks; but the same cause would necessarily act in producing as great a difference between the laws of the two countries. The Romans themselves, however, were pleased to claim a Grecian origin for their civil code, as well as for their mythology. Every one has read in Roman History, that three senators were commissioned to go to Athens, in order to collect the best of the Grecian laws, when the Romans wished to revise their own code; and that the Twelve Tables were published by the Decemvirs, as the fruits of that commission. Although a

mere comparison of the two codes was sufficient to expose the groundlessness of this statement, yet Vico was the first to question the truth of it; he has shown, that the Twelve Tables were of Italian origin, and quite contrary to the Grecian mode of life (Micali, vol. ii. p. 90). Niebuhr states, that if this question were to be decided by the relation between the Attic civil law, and that of the Twelve Tables, it would be necessary to suppose, that the name of Athens had been thrust in by later writers; for in whatever is essential and characteristic, with regard to personal rights, and to all the forms of legal acts, and judicial proceedings, the two codes have not the slightest resemblance (vol. ii. p. 303).

The Sabines, in their earlier seats of Prussia and Courland, were brought into a peaceful or warlike contact with the Erse Celts; and it would appear, that the same relations were kept up by the two nations within the territory of Italy itself. Servius has preserved a tradition, that Pisæ in Etruria was founded by Pisus, king of the Celts, and son of the Hyperborean Apollo, at the conclusion of a war with the Samnites; Alii Pisum, Celtarum regem, fuisse Apollinis Hyperborei filium, et cum Samnitibus bellum gessisse, à quorum reginâ, quæ post conjugis mortem imperio successerat, receptum, in Etruriâ oppidum suo nomine (Pisæ) condidisse (Servius in Æn. x. 179). Many marks of affinity, in languages and customs, can be pointed out between the primitive Erse Celts, and the Sabines or Romans. Besides the general resemblance of character in the preference of certain letters, as *s* for *h*, and *qu* or *k* for *p*, as illustrated in Part ii. ch. 4, some particular words in Sabine and Erse exhibit a very close affinity: Erse, near; Sab. nero, man; Erse, geo; Sab. gaius;

Lett. gows, ox; Erse, righ; O. Pr. rikys, rex; Erse, gean; O. Pr. genna, woman; Erse, garam; O. Pr. garrewingi, warm; Erse, sean; Lith. senas, senex.

We have seen that Pisus, king of the Celts, was the son of the Hyperborean Apollo; the Baltic Celts, therefore, were Hyperborean sun-worshippers. According to Vallancey, the chief deity of the heathen Irish was Beal, the sun; but the moon, stars, and wind, received also a lower kind of veneration. The month of May is to this day named Mi Beal teinne, that is, the month of Beal's fire; and the first day of May is called, La Beal teinne, that is, the day of Beal's fire. These fires were lighted on the summits of hills, in honour of the sun; and many of them still retain the name of Cnoc-greine, that is, the hill of the sun [7].

By what chance has it come to pass (says a native writer of Lithuania), that one of our popular songs should mention a mode of gathering the clans in defence of their country, which is exactly similar to that described by Sir Walter Scott in the Lady of the Lake? and how is it that the very word *clan*, in the sense of *tribe*, should occur in our language? These are enigmas which can be solved only by conjectures more or less exceptionable, and which we must leave for the consideration of antiquarians [8].

It is a very common, and perhaps, reasonable belief, that kindred tribes of Celtic origin constituted the first inhabitants of Italy and Greece, and that the Pelasgians arrived by sea among them with some great improvements in the arts of civilization. This state of things was perhaps disturbed in Greece by the arrival of new tribes, which

[7] Essay on the Irish Language.

[8] La Lithuanie par Michael Pietkiewicz, p. vii.

bore marks of affinity with the Old High or Perso-Germans, and certainly belonged to the so called Perso-European class; or the Greek language may have acquired its great similarity to Welsh principally at the time, and in consequence of the eruption of the Perso-Grecian conquerors, who completely modified the original dialect, and infused the great number of Perso-Celtic forms which we now discover in classical Greek.

With respect to Italy, it is quite clear, that the Sabines formed a very distinguishable element in its population; at a very early period they appear as conquerors who modified greatly the previous language and customs of Rome, but confirmed the Medo-European character which we now observe to be so strongly impressed on Latin. To the Sabine conquest is entirely due the introduction of the whizzing sound, which Quintilian attributes to the letter *f*, and which has caused some perplexity to modern philologists. The union of the Old Prussian Sabines with the Medo-Grecians of Italy, has been the cause that two distinct sounds were represented in Latin by the letter *f*; the first belonging to the Medo-Grecian dialect[9], which is, therefore, common both to Latin and Greek, as in fero, φερω; fama, φημη; fagus, φηγος; fallo, fari, fascis, frater, frigo, fucus, fugio, fui, fulgeo, fur (Muller, vol. i. p. 20): the other peculiar to Latin, which was derived through the Sabines from the Old Prussian and kindred dialects. This latter sound of *f*, which I have already described as equivalent to the Sclavonian *sv* or *zw* (Part ii. ch. i.), occurs only in the Sabine portion of Latin, that is, in words which

[9] Compare Bopp, p. 17. Skr. b'ar, φερω, fero; Skr. b'u; φυ-ω, fu-i; therefore, Skr. b'umi, and Lat. humi, are not related. See the next note, and Pott, p. 142. 217.

generally have no analogous forms in Greek. Muller observes that, in Sabine and Old Latin, many words were written with an *f* which was subsequently changed into an *h;* and that, as far as he knows, all such words are quite foreign to the Greek language. The following is the list which he has collected from the old grammarians, Varro, Festus, Servius, &c.: fariolus, fasena, fedus, fircus, folus (holus, olus), fordeum, fostis, fostia, forctis (fortis, horctis), vefo, trafo (Muller, vol. i. p. 44).

The Latin olus, and Sabine folus, are thus illustrated by Pott, under the Sanskrit root hari, green; Lat. ol-us and olescere, for hol-us, hel-us, and fol-us; Lith. ap-zelu, viresco, zalias, green; zole, grass, vegetation; Lett. sel-t, to be green, sale grass, salsh, green; Serv. zelen, green; Scl. zelie, olus, zlak, herba (vol. i. p. 141). Compare ob-soleo, ob-solesco, to grow out of use, to decay. To these may be added the Old Prussian salin "herb of the field," from Vater. As the word sali occurs in the Carmen Fratrum Arvalium, where it can hardly have the meaning of salt or sea, I would suggest, it may be connected with the above series of words in the general sense of crops; and that the words, satur fufere Mars lumen sali, are an invocation of Mars or Quirinus, the sun-god of the Sabines, concerning the sunshine on their crops:—

Enos Lases juvate
Neve luerue(m) Marmar Sins incurrere
in Pleores satur fufere Mars lumen sali.

"Ye Lares, help us: neither let pestilence O Mamers, attack the people; [and let] sufficient sunshine be to our crops, O Mars."

To Muller's examples, I would add the Sabine irpus,

hirpus, a wolf, which in the original orthography, must have been firpus, that is, svirpus: compare the Skr. varkas, and Z. vehrkas. Bopp gives the declension of the word *wolf* in all the languages, which his Comparative Grammar embraces; and he remarks, that the whole series, Skr. varkas, Z. vehrkas, Gr. λυκος, Lat. lupus, Lith. wilkas, Goth. vulfs, presents only modifications of the same root. The affinity of the Lith. wilkas, to Skr. varkas, rests upon the common interchange of the half vowels *r* and *l*, the latter of which (*l*) runs through the whole of the European sister languages. The Gothic, vulfs, shows the common change between gutturals and labials, and has an aspirate for a tenuis, according to Grimm's law. In Latin also, the labial has replaced the guttural; but lupus is still farther corrupted by the loss of the *v* sound, as in the Greek λυκος. It is possible, however, that this *v* in its change to the vowel *u*, has been driven more into the middle of the word; whilst, therefore, in the Lith. wilkas, the letters *l* and *k* have preserved their close position, they have been separated in Greek by the intervention of *v* (p. 293). Of these two suppositions concerning the Latin and Greek terms, namely, either that the *v* has been entirely lost, or changed into a vowel *u*, I conceive that the former is the true one, and that an initial consonant has been entirely dropped. I rest my opinion on the Albanian form oulk, and on the following parallel case: the Skr. dirg'as (long), and the Z. dareg'as, by a similar interchange of *l* and *r*, become in Scl. dolgui, in Gr. δολιχος; but by the total loss of the initial consonant, we have in Lith. and O. Pr., ilgas for the Skr. dirg'as; and this O. Pr. ilgas, bears the same relation to the Lat. longus, that irpus does to lupus [10].

[10] The derivation of the word *homo* has perplexed philologists. I propose

In addition to the sibilant sound of *f*, the guttural *qu*, with the sound of *k*, must have been introduced into the language of Rome by the Sabines, as we may infer from the Sabine names Quirinus, Quirites; and from the Old Prussian words kas, quai, ka—plur. quoi, quai; quoitamai, quoiteti, quoite—we, you, they will.

Niebuhr has remarked: It cannot be mere chance that the words for a house, a field, a plough, ploughing, wine, oil, milk, kine, swine, sheep, apples, and others relating to agriculture and gentler ways of life, should agree in Latin and Greek; while the Latin words for all objects pertaining to war or the chase are utterly alien from the Greek (vol. i. p. 82). This circumstance is thought to imply that in Italy a pastoral people, related to the primitive Greeks, were subdued by the irruption of a more warlike tribe who had no affinity with the Greek (Muller, vol. i. 16); and it certainly is remarkable that the Sabines, who advanced from the North and conquered the previous inhabitants of Latium, are said to have introduced their mode and terms of warfare: Majores nostri arma atque tela militaria a Samnitibus sumpserunt (Cæsar ap. Sallust. Catil. 51).

A similar phenomenon occurs in English, which is to be explained in the same manner. Words expressing the

that of *ho-min(is)*, *hu-man(us)*, the good thinker, the well-disposed, from *hu* bene, and the verbal root, *man*, *min*, &c, to think. Compare the Zend *ho-kerefs*, having a beautiful body, *hu-g'iti*, leading a good life. In Skr. *su-tanu* signifies a woman; literally, having a beautiful person, a beauty: the same in Persian, *o-ravης*, Herod. iii. 68; in Persian, *hu-ner* (virtus); Skr. su-narah (bonus vir), Pott, vol. i. p. xxxv. This derivation of *homo* seems contrary to the law of change; but if the *h* stands for an original *f*, i. e. *z* or *s*, then *homines*, *hemones*, become *somines*, *semones*: Compare Lith. zmones; O. Pr. smunents (homines), smunint, to act humanely, to honour parents. We have seen that the original form of *veho* was *vefo*, i. e. *vezo* (Part ii. ch. i.). Also, if *h* stands for *z* in *humus*, then it is related to Lith. zeme; O. Pr. semme, earth, and not to Skr. b'umi.

objects of rural and laborious life are almost all of Saxon origin: the Norman conquerors having introduced such phrases only as relate to dominion and high life. It is well known that the names of many animals in the English language are of German origin; whilst the flesh of the same animals, when prepared for food, is expressed in terms derived from the French. In consequence of this fact, it has been humourously asserted that the poor Saxons had to rear the cattle, but that their Norman conquerors ate the meat. It is, however, not unreasonable to suppose that the Norman warriors troubled themselves but little in tending the Saxon *ox*, *cow*, *calf*, *sheep*, *swine*, provided only that the fattened carcase supplied to their tables good Norman *beef*, *veal*, *mutton*, *pork*; and that therefore the Saxon names of the former might remain current in England, whilst the Saxon names of the latter were replaced by others of Norman extraction. If the history of the Norman conquest had perished from our annals, Philology would have supplied us with most convincing proofs of the main fact itself. The following passage relating to the subject here discussed, is taken from the Preface of an old English Grammar: Nec quidem temere contigisse puto, quod animalia viva nominibus Germanicæ originis vocemus, quorum tamen carnem in cibum paratam originis Gallicæ nominibus appellamus; puta, bovem, vaccam, vitulum, ovem, porcum, aprum, feram, &c., an ox, a cow, a calf, a sheep, a hog, a boar, a deer, &c.: sed carnem bubulam, vitulinam, ovinam, porcinam, aprugnam, ferinam,—beef, veal, mutton, pork, brawn, venison, &c. Sed hinc id ortum putaverim, quod Normanni milites pascuis, caulis, haris, locisque quibus vivorum animalium cura agebatur, parcius se immiscuerint (quæ itaque antiqua nomina retinuerunt), quam macellis, culi-

nis, mensis, epulis, ubi vel parabantur vel habebantur cibi, qui itaque nova nomina ab illis sunt adepti (Dr. Wallis's Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ, 1653).

The peace of the seven hills was first disturbed within the historical period, by the invasion of the Baltic Sabines; the conquest, however, was not effected by a direct and rapid march upon Rome. The invaders, during their gradual passage from the North, had made a permanent settlement in Italy, and built Cures, their capital, long before they came in contact with the natives of Latium; the Sabines encroaching still farther, at last subdued the Latins, and established their own religion and customs in Rome. When quiet was restored after this revolution, the united Sabines and Latins lived during a long period in perfect harmony, as is implied by the combined name Populus Romanus Quirites, and by the election of the first four kings alternately from Latin and Sabine families.

The last three kings were Tuscans. Under this new dynasty, of an entirely different origin, Rome was raised to a high pitch of glory and power through the application of the superior science of the East. All the architectural works which have excited such general wonder and astonishment are attributed to the Tarquins. "Thus did Rome build when governed by Etruscan kings: after she became free, all great works were at a stand until the republic had grown rich by its victories and conquests; and, when compared with her oldest works and with those of the Etruscan cities, the buildings of imperial Rome make but an inconsiderable figure" (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 127).

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

HEBREW HAMITE NOT SEMITIC: THREE KINDS OF LANGUAGES: CONFUSION OF TONGUES AT BABEL: LANGUAGE NOT A HUMAN INVENTION.

The original object of this work was to illustrate the affinity of the Indo-European languages; but as the latter portion of it has been unexpectedly taken up with the consideration of various Hamite idioms, it has become worth while to give, in an appendix, a general sketch of the whole Hamite class; and I shall take occasion to add some remarks which arise out of the general subject, but which could not very well be introduced elsewhere.

Among Philologists the Hebrew and allied dialects have been included under the general name of Semitic, because Hebrew itself was the language of the Israelites, the descendants of Shem; but this arrangement is plainly objectionable from the circumstance, that the Canaanitish or Punic idiom, an acknowledged Hamite dialect, evinces a close affinity with Hebrew. Mr. Beke, in his "Origines Biblicæ," was the first to place this obvious inconsistency

in its proper light, and to meet the difficulty by classifying the Hebrew with the other acknowledged dialects of Ham.

He says: My reasons for attributing a Mitzrite, and therefore Hamitish, origin to the so-called Semitic languages, are as follows: When the Almighty, for his own good purposes, was pleased to call Abraham from his native country—the land of the Arphaxadites or Chaldees—first into the country of Aram, and afterwards into that of Canaan, one of two things must necessarily have had place; either that the inhabitants of these latter countries spoke the same language as himself, or else that he acquired the knowledge of the foreign tongues spoken by these people during his residence in the countries in which they were vernacular. That they all made use of the same language cannot be imagined. Even if it be assumed that the descendants of Arphaxad, Abraham's ancestor, and the Aramites, in whose territories Terah and his family first took up their residence, spoke the same language, or, at the furthest, merely dialects of the same original Shemitish tongue, we cannot suppose that this language would have resembled those which were spoken by the Hamitish Canaanites and Philistines, in whose countries Abraham afterwards sojourned, unless we at the same time contend that the confusion of tongues at Babel was practically inoperative; we have no alternative, therefore, as it would seem, but to consider (as, in fact, is the plain and obvious interpretation of the circumstances) that Abraham, having travelled from his native place (a distance of above five hundred miles) to "the south country," the land of the Philistines, where he "sojourned many days," he and his family would have acquired the language of the people amongst whom they

thus took up their residence. But, independently of the above arguments, how are we to explain the origin of the Arabic language? This is clearly not of Aramitish derivation: it is the language which was spoken by the countrymen of Hagar, amongst whom Ishmael was taken by her to reside, and with whom he and his descendants speedily became mixed up and completely identified. Among these people it is not possible that the slightest portion of the Aramitish tongue of Abraham should have existed before the time of Ishmael; nor can it be conceived that the Mitzritish descendants of the latter would have acquired that language through him. I apprehend, indeed, that the Mitzritish origin of the Arabic language is a fact which cannot be disputed; and, if this fact be conceded, there remains no alternative but to admit—indeed it is a mere truism to say—that the Hebrew, which is a cognate dialect with the Arabic, must be of common origin with that language, and consequently, of Mitzritish derivation also. And, in truth, when we consider the subject dispassionately, and unbiassed by the assumptions (for they are nothing more) that the Hebrew tongue must necessarily be of Shemitish derivation, because the Israelites who spoke it were descended paternally from Shem; and that it possesses a peculiar character on account of its having been chosen by the Almighty as the medium through which his law should be promulgated: although there is no such peculiar sanctity or merit attributed to the Greek language, in which has been preserved to us the Gospel "of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises:" we can have no difficulty in conceiving how a family like that of Jacob, going down to settle in a foreign country, and forming alliances with the inhabitants of that country, should, in the course of a

couple of centuries, have lost their own language, and have adopted that of the people amongst whom they had become domiciled. It may be remarked in illustration, that the French Huguenots who came over into England about the year 1685, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and by whom a sort of colony was formed in Spitalfields, have, in less than a century and a half, lost almost every thing derived from the country which they left, except their names (Beke's Origines Biblicæ, p. 230).

In addition to the arguments adduced by Mr. Beke, to show that Hebrew was a Mitzrite dialect, I would observe that there appears to have been a peculiar fitness in the law of Jehovah being proclaimed to the nations at that period in a Hamite tongue. It has been often noticed as a providential dispensation, that the New Testament was written in Greek, which was a kind of universal language at the commencement of the Christian era; and a similar reason seems to have led to the selection of Hebrew for the record of the Old Testament. It is most certain that Hamite dialects were in current use throughout the whole East in the first ages of the world; and it is at least probable that the language of the first two universal empires, the Assyrian and Persian, was Hamite. In the West, also, the language of Ham was early made familiar by the daring enterprises of the Tyrians and Phenicians, and the numerous colonies from Egypt; but if, in addition to these, the Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, and Tuscans were of Hamite origin, the language of Ham must have been actually vernacular over a vast extent of country in the West. From the time of Moses, then, and during the existence of the first two empires when Hamite dialects were in vogue, a Hamite dialect would necessarily form the most general medium of com-

munication; but when the seat of empire was removed to the West, and established among the Greeks and Romans where Japhite dialects now prevailed, a Japhite idiom became best adapted for that purpose, and accordingly Greek was selected for publishing abroad the new revelation.

The most learned philologists of the present day, have included all known languages under three great classes or genera, which are distinguished from one another by strongly marked characters.

(1). Languages composed of monosyllabic roots incapable of composition, and, therefore, without any organisation, without any forms of grammar; to this class belong the Chinese idioms, in which we find nothing but naked roots, and in which the shades of meaning are determined not by grammatical relations, but by the position of words in a sentence.

(2). Languages composed of monosyllabic roots, but capable of composition which gives rise to nearly the whole of their organisation and grammar; to this family belongs the Indo-European class of languages, and all idioms not otherwise included under numbers 1 and 2, and of which the grammatical forms are still resolvable into their simplest elements.

(3). Languages, whose verbal roots consist of two syllables, and require three consonants for the expression of their fundamental meaning; this class is limited to the Semitic languages, and its grammatical structure is produced, not only by composition after the manner of the second class, but also by a mere internal modification of the root (Comp. Gram. p. 112). In the same passage, Bopp quotes A. W. Von Schlegel's arrangement, which is to the

same purport: (1) les langues sans aucune structure grammaticale; (2) les langues qui emploient des affixes; (3) et les langues à inflexions.

It is quite a common opinion, founded upon the most obvious meaning of Gen. x., that there are in the world three kinds of languages, which have been deduced respectively from the three sons of Noah. This general and popular idea coincides sufficiently, in a general way, with the scientific conclusions of philologists; but when we come to particularize and arrange the various known idioms of the globe, we find ourselves completely at fault. The Indo-European languages indeed coincide closely with the Japhite class; but if the Hebrew and related dialects constitute the Semitic family, the Hamite division can consist only of the Coptic, Sahidic, and other old Egyptian dialects; for no one has ever thought of classifying the various Chinese idioms with the dialects of Ham. Thus a very important and essentially distinct family of languages is left entirely out of the account; and the Scripture narrative is brought into collision with the deductions of science. But Mr. Beke has removed this difficulty, by simply reducing the so-called Semitic dialects, and the old Egyptian idioms, into one great Hamitish family; he has thus set at liberty the term Semitic, to distinguish the Chinese division of languages, and he has the merit of reconciling Philology with Scripture to this extent.

Having previously shown, at some length, in what manner the descendants of Shem overspread the extensive regions of China, he proposes the following classification of the three great families of languages:

Under this view, the languages of the earth, like all the races of people among whom they are spoken, must be

reducible to three distinct groups; and from what has resulted from the philological researches of the present day, there is every reason to believe, that this will be the ultimate conclusion upon the subject.

(1). The Japhthitish class (comprising the so-called Indo-European family),—whether spoken by the descendants of "Gomer, and Magog, and Madai," in Eastern Asia, or by those of "Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras," in Asia Minor and Europe,—has been already sufficiently analysed, to admit of its rank being determined in the table of the languages of the earth.

(2). The Hamitish class will consist:—of the Cushitish family of the languages of Upper Egypt and Central and Southern Africa; of the Mitzritish family of the Arabic, and its derivative, the Ethiopic of Abyssinia; the language of Mitzraim Proper, and its representative, the Hebrew, with its two dialects, the Chaldee and Syriac; and the Berber, and other native languages of the North of Africa; and of the Canaanitish family, of which the only fragments still preserved, are the Phœnician significant proper names mentioned by Sanchoniatho, and the specimen of the Punic or Carthaginian language exhibited in one of the plays of Plautus.

(3). The Shemitish class of languages yet remains, which must be deemed to consist, generally, of the Chinese, the Polynesian languages of the South Seas, and the Mexican, and other American dialects; with this class, however, philologists are confessedly far less acquainted than with either of the other two (p. 233).

Eichhorn's unhappy term "Semitic," has produced much confusion, and even led to grave error. Mr. Beke states: That the difficulty which has existed in accounting for the manifest resemblance between the so-called Semitic languages, and the Hamitish dialects of Canaan and Phœnicia, has led even Mr. Conybeare to depart from the generally sound principles of criticism and interpretation which he has laid down, so far as to say, "There seems no good reason to ascribe diversities of language to the original ramifications of the Noachian family; whether we ascribe that diversity to the dispersion of Babel, or, with many orthodox commentators, suppose the miracle then recorded, to have consisted rather in a temporary confusion of mind, producing as its effect, a corresponding confusion of expression, rather than to any miraculous change in the permanent dialects, and refer their subsequent diversities to the operation of gradual causes arising from long separation, distant emigrations, and new associations, constantly modifying the simplicity of earlier language. Whichever of these views we may adopt, there seems no authority whatever for attributing distinct tongues to the immediate families of Noah's first descendants, rather than to subsequent causes, which may have blended together in a course of common emigration, the members of different Noachian houses." But, (continues Mr. Beke,) the idea of an absolute and permanent change of dialect, is more strictly in accordance with the literal meaning of the Scriptural account of the confusion of tongues, than the supposition, that the consequences of that miraculous occurrence were of a temporary nature only, and that the whole of the present diversities in the languages of the world, are to be referred to the gradual operation of subsequent causes,

however necessary it may have been considered to qualify that literal meaning, in order to obviate the difficulties which were imagined to attend it. And, indeed, the difficulties consequent upon the supposition, that the confusion of tongues at Babel was not of a permanent character, are even greater than those which the contrary opinion has appeared to involve; for how, upon such a supposition, are we to explain the process by which has arisen the manifest want of connexion between the Arabic and cognate tongues, and the Indo-European or Japhthitish languages of the surrounding countries of India, Persia, Media, Asia Minor, and Greece; which process, unquestionably, cannot have been one of gradual change, arising from "long separation and distant emigrations;" whilst the Celtic, the Teutonic, and the Russian, all which languages have manifestly been subjected to the operation of those causes in the highest degree, still retain the characteristics of those other Japhthitish tongues, from which, during so many ages, they have been altogether separated (Orig. Bibl. p. 231).

Another objection against the theory of the gradual operation of subsequent causes, is the fact, that in tracing back languages to their original seats, instead of becoming more assimilated to one another, their characteristic differences stand out more prominently, and are more sharply defined. Also, if long separation and distant emigration exercised any influence in forming the character of Celtic, Gothic, Sclavonian, much of their economy must have borne the stamp of chance and caprice; whereas, "the law of their variation proves indisputably, that they are original and individual languages of great internal strictness" (See Part i. ch. 4).

The various phenomena, which are offered to our consideration by Comparative Philology, in a manner compel us to assume some supernatural agency to account for the existing diversity of languages; but commentators do not agree in the explanation of the Scriptural passages which bear on the subject. The rationalist Eichhorn boldly states, that two different myths on the confusion of languages, are tacked together in the book of Genesis; the one preserved in the name of Babel, which related that mankind were dispersed by the direct intervention of the Almighty; the other, connected with the name of Peleg, which stated, that Noah portioned out the world among his posterity. The common opinion, which attributes the diversity of languages to the transaction at Babel, certainly does involve a difficulty which ought to be fairly met, and deserves our serious consideration. Commentators and historians, who conceive the earth to have been divided in the time of Peleg, at a period anterior to the confusion of tongues, and to the dispersion consequent upon it, are hardly consistent with themselves; for the division of the earth among the collective posterity of Noah, as previously recorded in Gen. x., was conducted peaceably and methodically, according to their tongues, families, and nations, which procedure implies, that a diversity of languages was then established; on the contrary, the subsequent facts, related afterwards in Gen. xi., were of a turbulent character, and, as I believe, did not affect the whole human race, but concerned only that portion of mankind, who were especially distinguished by the title "sons of men." Indeed, I cannot but think, that Eichhorn had some grounds for concluding, that ch. x. and xi. contained statements which unfolded different views, if we confine these chap-

ters, according to the common idea, to one and the same event. But, in reality, does any necessity for such a limitation exist? the true solution of the difficulty, and the correct understanding of the subject, depend entirely, in my opinion, on the negative answer to this query; and I shall now give my reasons for concluding that the two chapters relate the history of two entirely different events.

First:—From the silence observed on the point, we have reason to infer, that the Antediluvians were of one language and of one speech; and it has always struck me, that the diversity of tongues in the new world, held some necessary relation to the curtailment of life, and the altered circumstances of man; and that it would have been introduced, even if no such transaction as that at Babel had taken place.

Again: It is particularly noticed, that the people engaged in that transaction were "the sons of men;" "And the Lord came down to see the city, and the tower, which the sons of men builded" (Gen. xi. 5). Now since this phrase occurs just before with a particular meaning, as explained in Part iii. ch. 1, there can be no good reason for supposing, that it is used again so soon afterwards in a completely different sense. The just inference, therefore, is, that the infidel Hamites were alone engaged in the structure of Babel; whilst the division of the earth by tongues and nations, affected the whole posterity of Noah. I may add that Moses, at a subsequent period, in referring to these early occurrences, still keeps them asunder as two distinct events; and mentions them in the same order, as in the previous history (Deut. xxxii. 7).

"Remember thou the days of old,
Consider the years of many generations;
Ask thy father, and he will show thee,
Thy elders, and they will tell thee (*that*)
When the Most High portioned out the nations (Gen. x.),
When he scattered the "sons of men" (Gen. xi.),
He settled the boundaries of the peoples
By the number of the children of Israel;
For the portion of Jehovah is his people;
Jacob, the measure of his inheritance."

By this mode of interpretation, we gain a clear and consistent narrative of two distinct and important events; and entirely get rid of Eichhorn's imputation, that this part of the Sacred History is made up of two independent and inconsistent myths.

The view of the subject here offered for consideration, possesses the advantages above-mentioned; and the only objection that can be raised against it, lies in the strong expression, "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech" (Gen. xi. 1). Now, although attention has not been drawn to any particular meaning of the words "the whole earth" in this passage; yet the phrase itself has been thoroughly discussed in the account of the flood, as connected with Geology. Whilst all writers cannot but agree, that the deluge was universal in regard to man; there are many respectable authors who argue, even from the terms of Scripture, that the flood was only a local catastrophe in respect of the whole globe. It is remarked, that the word אֶרֶץ, besides its extensive meaning of "the earth," is as often used in the more limited sense of "land, country;" the land of Canaan, of Egypt, &c; and in the New Testament we meet with the expression, "there was dark-

ness over the whole earth (of Canaan, εφ' ὁλην την γην, Mark xv. 33). In the history of Babel, the sense of the words is much more clearly defined, than in the account of the flood; for the ambiguous phrase, which may signify either "the whole earth," or "all the land," is here determined to the more limited meaning by the other specific phrase, "the sons of men," or the infidel Hamites.

Some trifling philosophers have asserted that language itself is a human invention; and they have been at some pains to show the gradual progress which it made from the unmeaning sounds of the savage to the eloquent articulation of civilized man. This gratuitous assumption is directly opposed to the express declaration of Scripture, that Adam was created with the perfect use of all his faculties, and among the rest, with that of speech; and it is equally inconsistent with the subsequent history of Noah: the philosophical theory, therefore, would be beneath notice on that account; but I introduce it here for the sake of the philological remarks that may be connected with it, and which afford an independent refutation of it.

Fr. Schlegel, in his treatise on the Language and Philosophy of the Hindoos, has devoted a chapter to the consideration of the origin of languages, in which he says: The various hypotheses concerning their origin would have completely fallen to the ground, or at least would have assumed quite a different form, if they had been deduced from historical investigation, instead of being drawn from the imagination only. In particular, it is quite an arbitrary and erroneous assumption, that languages had their origin in every case in the same manner. On the contrary, the difference of languages in this point of view is so great, that it would be an easy task to bring forward some one

idiom to support any of the hypotheses hitherto made on the subject. If, for example, we look into a Mantchou dictionary, we observe with surprise that the greater part of the language consists of words imitative of the sense; and, in fact, if Mantchou constituted an important class of idioms, and other languages of a similar nature occurred to any extent, we could not but acquiesce in the opinion, which derives speech in general from the principle of imitation. From this particular case, however, we discover the shape which languages formed on this principle must assume; and we are compelled to give up the idea of deriving, in this way, other tongues which present a totally different appearance. If, now, we direct our attention to the Indo-European class, we find that in German the number of words which imitate the sense is still considerable in itself, though quite insignificant when compared with those in Mantchou: in Greek they become fewer, and still more so in Latin; and, in Sanskrit, they so entirely disappear, that even the possibility of such an origin for the whole class is no longer tenable. If we consult Philology as to the origin of Sanskrit—the source and model of this family of languages—she is silent on the main question, but returns a most conclusive answer on one very important point: Sanskrit is not the result of a mere physical effort at utterance and an imitation of external sounds, gradually built up by successive improvements into an artificial and regular form; on the contrary, this language supplies one proof more, if further proof were needed, that man did not, in every region, begin his earthly career in the condition of a dumb brute, and gradually attain unto speech by long and laborious attempts: it rather shows that, if not every where, at least in India and Iran, the subtlest reason and clearest

perception had been in operation from the very first; Sanskrit itself is the work and product of such reason and perception, for it expresses not figuratively, but directly, the most abstruse metaphysical ideas and the whole range of our consciousness (Fr. Schlegel, book i. ch. 5).

But setting aside Scripture and Philology, let us have recourse to experience and to real facts. The following questions have naturally been asked, and we may reasonably demand a satisfactory answer before yielding up our belief to those philosophers who advocate the invention of language by man. "Theorists talk of the *invention* of words by savages, as if it were one of the easiest matters in the world. We beg to ask whether they invent any new words (that is, original words) now-a-days? and if not, *when* the process ceased—and *why?* We believe it to be almost as easy to create a new particle of matter, as for a man, savage or civilized, to invent a fresh verbal root, and make it pass current as such. How many vocables have the Chinese added to their stock during the last three thousand years? or where do we find any recent terms not formed by derivation or composition from previously existing elements?" (Quart. Rev. vol. lvii. p. 102.)

If Sanskrit, from its metaphysical character and freedom from onomatopeia, or the imitation of sounds, is opposed to the natural origin of language as a human invention, that supposition is equally inadmissible from the circumstance, that the very oldest idiom in the whole Indo-European series is the most richly furnished with the grammatical relations of case, tense, &c.; from which it would appear that the natural tendency of language, as of too many other human talents, is to deteriorate. It has been forcibly remarked that the history of all languages, and of their pro-

gressive development, conveys this important fact to us: that the older a language is, and the nearer its original, the more complete and perfect are its grammatical forms: this is so strictly true, that were two hitherto unknown words presented to him, the etymologist might decide with certainty upon their comparative antiquity by mere inspection (Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. x. p. 376).

Mitford, in discussing the question of the Homeric era, has occasion to combat the following position: "That most curious machine, the formation of the Greek tongue in its several tenses, cases, and numbers, was all perfect and complete when Homer wrote. It was impossible for his language to have arrived at that summit of excellence to which little improvement or addition was made afterward, unless the speakers were also arrived near the summit of social life and civil government." The learned critic, says Mitford, seems not sufficiently to have adverted to the common and known progress of languages. They are often found most complex in barbarous times, and simplify with the progress of civilization. The Anglo-Saxon had cases and a dual number, which it lost before the mixture of Norman French had formed our present language; and the Greek dual is scarcely seen but in the old authors. But the general form and character of every language became fixed in barbarous ages, beyond the power of learning to alter. Those of the Greek were, indeed, wonderfully happy; but had they not been so delivered down from times of darkness, all the philosophy of the brightest ages could not have added a number, a tense, or a case (vol. i. p. 256).

There seems to have existed, in regard to Philology, a sensitive dread of admitting any agency not human; but, as Mr. Prichard justly observes, it seems incumbent on

those who reject the Scriptural account (of a confusion of tongues) on the ground of its making a reference to a supernatural, and, as it may be termed, an unknown agency, to furnish us with some account of the first existence of our species which does not imply events, at least equally miraculous; unless the events which certainly took place can be understood in a different way from that in which the Sacred Scriptures represent them, we may rationally adhere to the whole of the same testimony, as involving the operation of no other causes than such as are both proved and are sufficient to account for the phenomena (Celtic Nations, p. 12).

THE END.

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